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ABSTRACT

This document consists of the 11 issues of the Children's Defense Fund (CDP) Report published during 1996. Issues discuss concerns related to child advocacy and provide information on problems in children's lives in the United States. Regular sections in each issue are the editorial column "A Voice for Children," a status report on federal legislation related to children, descriptions of Children's Defense Fund activities, media tips, field strategies, and summaries of relevant research and reports. Topics covered in major articles include the following: (1) a special report on child care, including discussion of welfare block grants, states' protections of children in child care, and the Child and Adult Care Food Program (CACFP) (December 1995); (2) federal budget information; key facts about children--related to poverty, child care, mortality, prenatal care, health insurance, education, and abuse and neglect; a child advocacy calendar, myths and realities related to children and their problems; priorities for children; and nonprofit organization activities (January 1996); (3) 1995 congressional voting record, and State of America's Children Yearbook (February 1996); (4) the Stand for Children initiative, National Governors' Association proposals, and the Quantum Opportunity Program (March 1996); (5) gun violence, and the Stand for Children initiative (April 1996); (6) immunization rates, Children's Sabbaths, and federal appropriations and poverty guidelines (May, 1996); (7) the Stand for Children initiative, and welfare reform (June/July 1996); (8) "predator" bills, and an election year guide (August 1996); (9) welfare reform, and state advocacy (September 1996); (10) welfare reform--including helping states plan reforms, legal immigrant children, and monitoring effects of the new law (October 1996); and (11) yearly review of Congressional action, self-sufficiency and violence, 1997 appropriations for selected children's programs, and statistics showing improvements in child poverty, infant health, and teen birth rate (November 1996). (KB)

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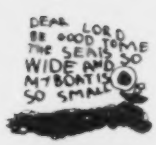

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Children's Defense Fund

CDF Reports

Marian Wright Edelman,
President

December 1995
Volume 17, Number 1

States gear up for federal changes

As this issue went to press, the president and Congress had reached a stand-off in their battle over sweeping welfare and budget bills that would repeal basic guarantees of help for children in times of need. Whatever the outcome of that struggle, however, states are virtually certain to face an extraordinarily difficult set of decisions, in 1996 and perhaps for years to come, as a result of unprecedented cuts in federal aid for low-income children and families.

"This is a time of great change and great danger," says CDF Director of State and Local Offices Lucy Hackney. "If the magnitude of cuts in federal safety net programs for children even approaches the level now under consideration by the Congress, states will be confronted with nearly impossible choices between basic cash assistance, health coverage, child care, child protection, and other crucial services for children."

There is no way that California, for example, could absorb more than $25 billion in federal cuts over the next seven years, or New Hampshire could absorb more than $1 billion in such cuts — as pending welfare and Medicaid bills would require — and not hurt children and families, says Hackney. But how states respond to the cuts that come their way will largely determine how devastating the cuts prove to be.

"It is critical that children's advocates be at the table in every state over the next few months," says Hackney, "to help ensure that state and local policy makers do everything they can to offset federal cuts and maximize the resources at their disposal."

One of the first challenges for advocates will be to speak with a common voice and find strength in unity. "In the aftermath of federal budget cuts, advocates must work together to protect children's general well-being, not just one set of services," says Eve Brooks, president of the National Association of Children's Advocates (NACA). "Otherwise there is great risk that

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States gear up

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advocates may end up successfully protecting funds for child care, for example, but at the expense of funds for children's health care."

Many state officials have assumed for months that, starting in 1996, they would receive a series of federal block grants — fixed sums of money each year with broad state flexibility in how these funds are used — in welfare, health care, child protection, and child nutrition, instead of the open-ended "entitlement" funding they now receive from the federal government. Yet the vigorous fight by advocates all across the nation to preserve this federal guaranteed safety net had at least temporarily halted block-grant efforts at press time, and the resulting uncertainty has put state policy makers in a quandary. Most states, says Hackney, are now in the middle of their 1996 fiscal year. In January, many states begin a new legislative cycle and will begin addressing budget decisions for FY 1997. Yet states "still have no idea what to expect" from Congress.

"State policy makers who supported block grants should be pressed to come forward with a *specific* plan to ensure that the well-being of children is not jeopardized."

"States will be under tremendous pressure to move quickly if and when pending welfare and budget bills are finalized in Washington," says Hackney. "One of my fears is that without solid input from advocates, some states may make hasty choices that will inflict needless harm on children."

Advocates who haven't already begun contingency planning for possible block grant implementation in their states and communities should do so right away, even while continuing to do everything possible to oppose the shift toward block grants at the federal level, says Hackney. NACA's Brooks urges children's advocates to build multi-issue coalitions that can begin a dialogue with state officials on steps they can take to shield children from the full impact of federal budget cuts, whether or not new block grants are created.

In the past months, governors have been saying that they can work with less federal money to restructure services without hurting children. If any of the proposed block grants are enacted, advocates' first step should be to hold governors as well as state legislators accountable and insist that they live up to those promises, says Deborah Weinstein, director of CDF's Family Income Division.

"State policy makers who supported block grants should be pressed to come forward with a *specific* plan to ensure that the well-being of children is not jeopardized," advises Weinstein. "This means planning for demographic and recession-driven growth, preserving or instituting state guarantees of help for children in need, and identifying funds or new revenue sources to offset any shortfalls in federal funding. And it means resisting the temptation to pass the buck

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Helping states make good decisions

Here are four steps advocates can take immediately to help state and local leaders make wise decisions about how to meet children's needs in the future:

- *Keep in mind — and keep reminding policy makers — that states will have a number of months to plan and implement changes.* In all likelihood, any new federal law will allow months of transition time, and states will have some latitude to decide when and how they will make substantive changes to their programs. Given the "extraordinary level of uncertainty about what will emerge from federal-level debates and what will be required of states," says CDF Director of Family Income Deborah Weinstein, "it makes sense to take as much time as possible to plan and make thoughtful decisions."

- *Don't assume your state will have to make immediate cuts in benefits to or investments in children.* For example, in 44 states (all but California, New Mexico, Connecticut, Idaho, Hawaii, and Nevada), the welfare caseload in July 1995 was below the caseload level for FY 1994, according to Mark Greenberg at the Center for Law and Social Policy. Because caseloads are down, many states may be able to maintain cash assistance to poor children for the next few years, even if welfare block grants and related budget cuts become law.

- *Encourage policy makers to look for ways to streamline and simplify programs, while maintaining the quality of services.* Advocates need to be careful that states do not dismantle protections for children under the guise of streamlining programs. However, in some instances, services *can* be simplified to serve families better. Advocates in Ohio, for example, have encouraged the state office of budget and management to evaluate current administrative expenses in state and county health, human services, and education agencies, and recommend ways to reshape them. One possible outcome is that the state will find new ways to move toward a common, simplified application form and standardize eligibility across programs, says CDF-Ohio Director Mark Real.

- *Encourage policy makers to establish clear goals and monitor outcomes regularly.* Hard data are still difficult to get from most state agencies, and this problem should be addressed, says Real. States should have a clear picture of what they hope to achieve for children and should set up procedures for evaluating their success. One way to give this effort an independent flavor, says Real, is to establish a statewide "Results for Children" task force. Such a task force would include experts in the fields of education, business, industry, and health. The task force would be charged with identifying outcome goals and evaluating progress toward these goals.

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CDF on the Internet:
http://www.tmn.com/cdf/index.html

A Voice for Children

by Marian Wright Edelman

Mobilize the disaffected

The countdown to the 1996 general election has begun. We child advocates have less than a year to persuade our fellow citizens to register and vote in this election for the sake of our children.

Some citizens who struggle the hardest to provide for their children — young parents, women, African Americans, and Latinos — have been among those least likely to vote in recent elections. In the November 1994 election,

- **Only 22 percent of young citizens 18 to 24 years old voted.**
- **Only 49 percent of female citizens voted.**
- **Only 39 percent of African American citizens voted.**
- **Only 34 percent of Latino citizens voted.**

It's easy to understand why many citizens fail to vote. Those who are the least powerful and work the hardest often have little flexibility on election day to juggle work, child care, children's school schedules, and voting. It's no wonder that many put voting at the bottom of that list, especially when so many citizens seriously doubt that their vote makes any difference. Congress' continuing failure to enact genuine campaign finance reform only helps feed the perception that politicians are most interested in pleasing the wealthy and the powerful special interests that contribute so generously to political campaigns.

The tragedy is that this way of thinking creates a self-fulfilling prophecy, leaving elections to those who are more likely to oppose initiatives that will help children, young people, and struggling families build productive lives.

Ordinary citizens *acting together* have the power to make a big difference.

It doesn't have to be that way. It may be true that *individuals* by themselves seldom can change the course of national events, but ordinary citizens *acting together* have the power to make a big difference.

Today's and tomorrow's young working parents need representatives in Congress and state legislatures who worry about the economic slide that young families have suffered over the past two decades. Legal immigrant communities need political leaders who firmly reject growing anti-immigrant and anti-child sentiment. And African Americans, other minorities, and poor communities all need representatives who understand the needs of vulnerable children and families.

During the next 11 months, we child advocates must persuade reluctant voters to mobilize to elect national and state leaders who care about families' struggles to raise healthy, educated children in the face of so many difficult challenges.

In 1994, *fewer than 1,000 votes* determined the outcome in seven separate congressional races. In one congressional district, just 21 votes separated the winning and losing candidates.

In one U.S. Senate race in 1994, the winner was decided by fewer than 27,000 votes. In that state, there were 91,000 Black citizens of voting age, but only 24,000 went to the polls. Sixty-seven thousand potential Black votes were lost.

Millions of potential voters know that this nation is taking a wrong turn by turning its back on children. By making sure these same citizens register, question candidates about their priorities, and vote next November, child advocates can help foster public policies that support the efforts of ordinary American families and protect children's well-being.

We have our work cut out for us before the 1996 election.

Scant progress toward education goals

At the present rate of progress, the nation will not meet the six national education goals established for the year 2000, says a November report by the National Education Goals Panel. Moreover, according to some education advocates, the modest gains made to date probably result more from improving schools serving better-off suburban students than from upgrading schools serving mostly poor and minority students.

The National Education Goals Report: Building a Nation of Learners lists a few signs of progress made since the education goals were announced in 1989, as then-President Bush and the nation's governors tried to jumpstart a national effort to improve American education. Math scores, for example, have risen among fourth- and eighth-graders; more women are earning college degrees in math and science, and more parents are spending time reading to preschool children.

But these modest gains are offset by stagnation and even regression in other areas of education, says the report. The high school graduation rate — about 86 percent — has not budged since 1990. Reading scores have remained virtually the same for primary school students and actually have declined among high-school students. Students' use of drugs, particularly marijuana, is on the rise, and more teachers are reporting being threatened and having their classrooms disrupted by unruly students.

Viewed in this context, the targets established in 1989 still seem far out of reach. According to the goals, by the year 2000:

- All children should start school ready to learn.
- The high school graduation rate should have increased to at least 90 percent for all groups.
- All students should leave grades four, eight, and 12 having demonstrated competency over challenging subject matter in English, math, science, history, and geography.
- U.S. students should be first in the world in math and science achievement.
- Every adult should be literate and possess the knowledge and skills necessary to compete in a global economy and exercise the rights and responsibilities of citizenship.
- Every school in America should be free of drugs and violence and should offer a disciplined environment conducive to learning.

The report suggests that stronger partnerships among families, schools, and communities will speed up progress, and notes that a new national education goal was added last year, calling for every school to promote such partnerships. Many education advocates point out, however, that most parents and communities — and states — have yet to embrace the fundamental school reform that will give all students the tools they'll need to earn a decent living in the future. "Every state and school district needs a comprehensive reform plan that completely overhauls the education system, not just a new program here and there, says Kati Haycock, director of the Education Trust at the American Association for Higher Education.

"Local educators thought that if they did more of what they were already doing, things would improve. But that just hasn't happened."

"The governors and the president committed to a set of goals, but local educators committed neither to the goals nor to the hard work of improving their schools in ways that would enable kids to reach those goals," says Haycock. "Local educators thought that if they did more of what they were already doing, things would improve. But that just hasn't happened. And policy makers have not insisted on improvement."

Kentucky and Maryland offer examples of real reform, according to Haycock. In those states, the governors, the state legislatures, local educators, the business communities, and parents all worked together on reform plans that require professional development for teachers, periodic assessment of student learning, and consequences for schools that do not improve. The *consequences* component is important, says Haycock, because "if nothing happens when change doesn't occur, you'll never get results." In Kentucky, the results are beginning to show, Haycock says. "Achievement has leaped upwards over the past three years."

Minority education

Shirley McBay, president of the Washington, D.C.-based Quality Education for Minorities Network (QEM), says her organization has visited 15 of the 19 states in which at least 25 percent of the high school graduates come from minority groups. Based on those visits, the QEM staff has concluded that school reform is not improving the education most minority students receive. Minority schools still lack adequate resources, still confine students to arbitrary curricular tracks, and still have trouble attracting certified teachers, says McBay. In general, education reform has not resulted in extensive efforts to better prepare teachers for teaching in predominantly minority schools, or to recruit more minority teachers. Another problem for minority schools, she says, is the lack of access to the technology — computers and electronic communications — that could help equalize the academic playing field.

"A lot of these issues are political," says McBay. "Policy makers could choose to do something different, but they don't, because they don't hear enough from those who are suffering from poor education."

To order the National Education Goals Report *from the National Education Goals Panel, call 202-632-0952, or fax your request to 202-632-0957.*

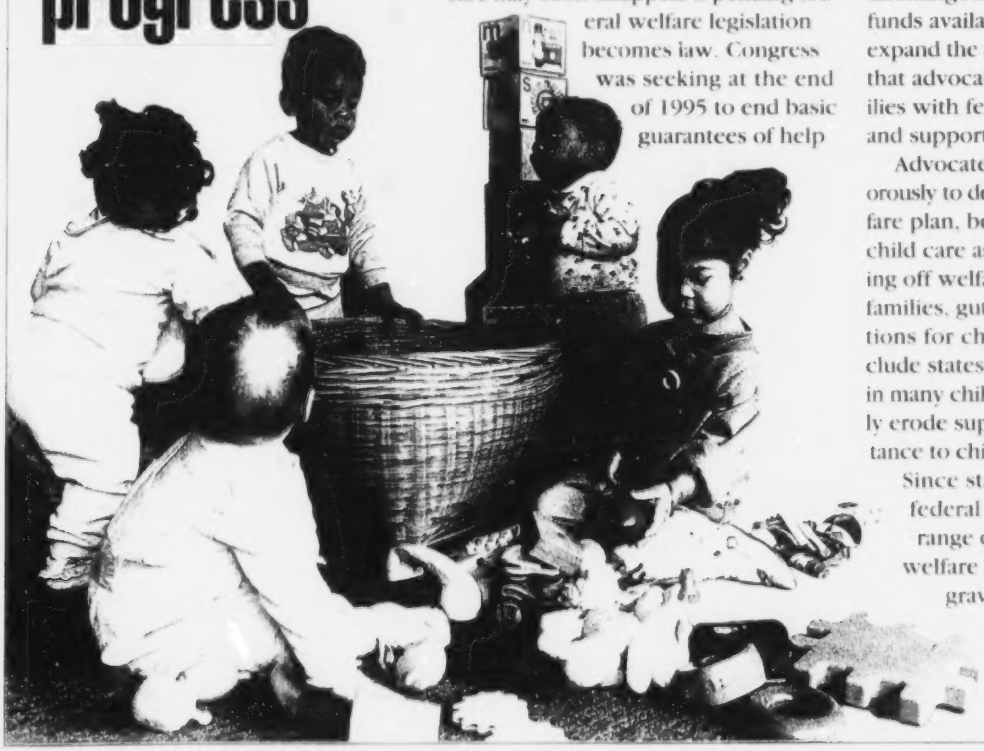
Special Report

Child Care

Welfare block grants would halt states' progress

A number of states made improvements in their commitments to child care in 1995, says CDF Child Care Director Helen Blank. Vermont, for example, agreed to provide child care to all children in eligible low-income families. Pennsylvania, Delaware, Minnesota, and Colorado put more money into assistance for low-income working families that need child care. And Delaware and Colorado raised the state reimbursement rates for providers, which will help attract good providers and improve the quality of child care.

But even limited signs of states' progress toward ensuring the health, safety, and development of children in child care may soon disappear if pending federal welfare legislation becomes law. Congress was seeking at the end of 1995 to end basic guarantees of help for poor, hungry, ill, abused, and neglected children. As one of many pending "block grant" proposals, states would receive fixed — and reduced — amounts of federal money each year to cover services that help children, including cash assistance, work programs, and child care through Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). Child care advocates fear that these welfare proposals, which also would require states to place far higher proportions of parents receiving AFDC into work programs, would greatly increase demand for child care for welfare families and leave far less assistance available for the children of low-income working parents. These proposals, if unchanged, also would cut federal funds available to bolster quality and expand the supply of child care — cuts that advocates know would leave families with fewer opportunities for safe and supportive child care.



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Advocates have been working vigorously to defeat the congressional welfare plan, because it would threaten child care assistance for families moving off welfare and for working-poor families, gut health and safety protections for children in child care, preclude states from protecting children in many child care settings, and seriously erode support for nutritional assistance to children in child care settings. Since states would have far less federal funding to meet a broader range of children's needs under a welfare block grant, advocates are gravely concerned that states may pit one important children's service against another.

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Welfare block grants

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"This is the best of times and the worst of times," says Joan Benso, executive director of the Pennsylvania Association of Child Care Agencies (PACCA). Benso's group, with other organizations, persuaded state leaders to increase child care funds next year by $10 million — an increase that will translate into 3,100 new subsidized child care slots for low-income children. "We're enjoying our success, but at the same time we're worried about the state having to buy more with less money," says Benso. "While Pennsylvania is in relatively good economic health, we can't afford to make up for any losses in federal funding. If the state has to cut child care funding, the quality of child care is going to suffer, and the human costs are going to be unbelievable."

Tough choices

Like advocates in Pennsylvania, Vermont's child care advocates worry that anticipated changes at the federal level will threaten their state's recent progress in child care. Lee Lauber, director of the Family Center of Washington County in Montpelier, says leaders in Vermont realized several years ago that their interest in moving families from welfare to work would be a pipe dream without adequate child care assistance for parents. So the state added a provision to its appropriations bills for 1995 and 1996 that, in effect, says that any child who is eligible for child care will be served, even if the cost exceeds the amount appropriated.

"We can't afford to make up for any losses in federal funding. If the state has to cut child care funding, the quality of child care is going to suffer, and the human costs are going to be unbelievable."

But under Congress' proposed block grant system, Vermont, like every other state, would have far less federal money for children's services, says Lauber, and the governor has signaled an unwillingness to support any new state taxes. "So if we need more money for child care than we budgeted," Lauber says, "the governor may say no, or he may try to transfer funds from other children's services to child care. The demand is so great for all state dollars, that the state could end up cutting off eligibility for some families that need child care to keep working." Another possible threat might be cuts in payments to child care providers — a move that also would have disastrous consequences for both families and providers.

State legislative leaders in Wisconsin have proposed a "Wisconsin Works" initiative, which they claim would guarantee child care assistance to all low-income families. However, says CDF's Blank, the bill would seek to reach this goal by eliminating child care for a number of families that currently receive assistance and by dramatically increasing parents' share of child care costs — making child care unaffordable, even with subsidies, for many families. For example, a single mother with one child in Milwaukee County, grossing $800 per month, suddenly would go from paying nothing for child care to paying $215 per month — more than one-quarter of her monthly income before taxes. By increasing parents' co-payments, eliminating training requirements for child care providers, and lowering reimbursement for informal care, the initiative also would force parents to choose lower-cost care, which is often lower-quality. "These trade-offs are very troubling," says Blank. "They will assure help for some families, but at the expense of other struggling families, and they will severely limit parental choice and threaten children's safety."

Under welfare reform plans in Michigan, state legislative leaders are proposing that poor mothers with children as young as 12 weeks old be required to go to work, despite major shortages of infant care in the state. And they have proposed giving parents cash to pay for their child care needs, as opposed to vouchers that can be cashed only by providers. This idea can be a problem for parents, says Blank, since many providers are reluctant to accept poor children if payment comes from the parent, rather than from the state agency. Many providers, she says, believe that low-income parents will be less reliable in making regular payments out of their minimal wages. The state also has proposed reducing its payments to child care centers, which may make it difficult for centers to stay in business and, as a result, limit parents' child care choices.

"These trade-offs are very troubling. They will assure help for some families, but at the expense of other struggling families, and they will severely limit parental choice and threaten children's safety."

In contrast, Minnesota's working-poor families and parents enrolled in school and job training got a big boost this year. At the governor's request, the state legislature approved an 86 percent increase ($16.2 million) in funding for the state's basic sliding-fee child care program, which provides subsidies to low-income working parents. However, even this increase is not enough to help all of the families that need child care, says Polly Keppel, director of the Child Care Works Coalition in Minneapolis. "We are nowhere near to wiping out our child care waiting list," says Keppel.

If the congressional welfare plan is enacted without adequate child care

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Welfare block grants

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funds to help mothers on welfare who must meet the bill's work requirements, "it appears that low-income working parents will be almost completely out of luck when it comes to staying on, or being able to access, child care subsidies in the future," says Keppel. "Once again we risk sending the message to parents that the only way to get help is through public assistance."

A recent study of low-income families in Minnesota's Hennepin County, near Minneapolis, offers a revealing glimpse of how families cope while waiting for child care assistance. More than 80 percent of low-income families on the county's child care waiting list continued working and paying for child care, but among this group, 71 percent said they had incurred significant debts or had filed for bankruptcy. More than a third of the families that continued working said that as temporary arrangements broke down or family circumstances changed, they had found it necessary to change child care providers three or four times — a development that takes a heavy toll on children. Eventually, about one-quarter of the families on the waiting list turned to AFDC to survive.

In Colorado, where the state recently added $8 million for child care, the working poor aren't even bothering with the waiting lists, says Grace Hardy, director of the Division of Child Care for the Colorado Department of Services. "Parents hear about the long waiting lists and they don't even leave their names with us," says Hardy. "We're only serving 15 to 20 percent of eligible families right now."

If Minnesota does face the prospect of serving more families with less money, Keppel predicts that the state will either increase the child care co-payments that families must pay, or decrease child care subsidies. (State leaders in Maryland, unable to appropriate the $7.5 million needed to meet projected growth in their state subsidy program, already have made parents pay more for child care and have cut off child care assistance to some families.) These adjustments, says Keppel, would mean that families would have less money to spend on child care, which would likely limit their choices and put them out of the licensed care market. Families, she says, may be forced to put their children in care that does not help them grow and thrive, and could jeopardize their health and safety.

"It appears that low-income working parents will be almost completely out of luck when it comes to staying on, or being able to access, child care subsidies in the future. Once again we risk sending the message to parents that the only way to get help is through public assistance."

Child care quality

A number of states took steps in 1995 to boost the quality of child care (see page 8). That's encouraging news, says Blank, because good-quality care helps provide the early learning experiences that let children enter school ready to succeed. A recent study, *Cost, Quality and Child Outcomes in Child Care Centers*, found that children in higher-quality classrooms had better language, pre-mathematics, and social skills than those in lower-quality classrooms; they also had better relationships with their teachers and more positive self-perceptions. The study also confirmed that good child care is particularly beneficial for low-income children, who are at greater risk for school failure.

In 1995, Colorado was one of several states that acted to improve quality. In addition to raising reimbursement rates, the state approved new permanent licensing standards that will streamline paperwork, thereby increasing the amount of time state agents can spend on monitoring child care programs. New Jersey added new licensing regulations for school-age children, to ensure basic protections for this important age group. Pennsylvania's welfare bill added new funding for a resource and referral service for families. And Delaware, Montana, Colorado, and Illinois each raised reimbursement rates for child care providers, an action that encourages better-quality programs to participate in the public child care system.

But Blank and other advocates question whether states, even with the best of intentions, will be able to hang onto these gains in the future if current congressional welfare proposals become law. In Delaware, the loss of federal funds under proposed block grants would mean that the state's child care career-development system — which has helped providers get critical training to improve the quality of care for children — would go down the tubes, says Jan Rheingold, president of Child Care Connection in Wilmington. Studies have shown staff education and training to be among the most critical elements in improving children's experiences and development in child care. It is unlikely, she says, that the state would be able to come up with the money to continue the training program, even though training contributes significantly to better-quality care for children.

Federal funds also have helped Delaware create a computerized child care personnel registry, which allows centers to check the backgrounds of potential caregivers, and has paid for three

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States' protections weak for children in child care

While many states have made recent progress in improving health and safety protections for children in child care, a new CDF study says that inadequate laws persist in some states, seriously endangering children's safety and development. Proposals currently under consideration in Congress threaten states' efforts to hold onto or increase protections for children in child care, and would likely compound the risk of physical and developmental harm to children already in unsafe settings, the study says.

How Safe? The Status of State Efforts to Protect Children in Child Care says that by 1993, the latest year for which data are available, many states had made progress, for example, in protecting children from communicable diseases by requiring children in child care to be immunized. Yet, five states — Louisiana, Maine, Michigan, North Carolina, and South Carolina — still failed to require that *all* children in child care centers and family child care homes have at least their most basic immunizations.

Parents are the first line of defense in identifying health and safety problems in child care, says the study, and by 1993 almost all states required child care centers to let parents visit their child's program unannounced. Four out of five states required *family* child care homes to do the same. The study revealed, however, that a number of states did not require providers to meet minimum health and safety standards. For example, 22 states did not require family child care providers to have first-aid training. Twenty-five states did not require child care centers to have soft surfaces beneath climbing equipment to minimize injuries, and 16 failed to require that family child care homes have smoke detectors and hold fire drills.

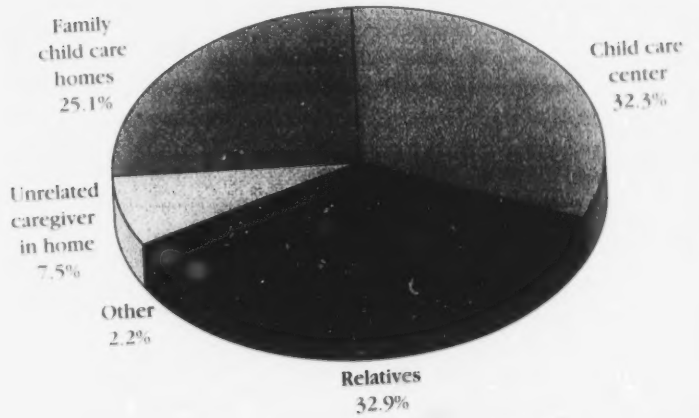
Research has shown that assigning too many children to each staff member jeopardizes children's safety and development. According to the CDF study, one-fifth of states improved their ratio requirements for at least one age group between 1989 and 1993. A significant majority of states by 1993 required programs serving children six months to 12 months old to meet national recommendations on the number of children allowed per staff member. Still, 18 states allowed one caregiver alone to care for as many as five six-month-old children in child care centers, and some states allowed a single caregiver to watch even more babies. South Carolina, for example, allowed a caregiver to care for as many as seven six-month-old infants, and Idaho allowed one caregiver to care for 12.

Strong licensing regulations are essential to reducing the alarming disparity in the quality of child care, notes CDF Senior Program Associate Gina Adams, who conducted the study.

"With so much improvement already needed," says Adams, "it is discouraging that Congress is considering proposals that would force states to strip away already-inadequate protections for children in the future." She urges advocates not to let states cope with future child care funding shortages by cutting back on commitments to enact and enforce requirements that protect children and improve the quality of child care. "Our goal," says Adams, "must continue to be early care and education that keeps children safe and helps them grow."

For more information, see How Safe? The Status of State Efforts to Protect Children in Child Care, *available for $4.95 through CDF Publications, 202-662-3652.*

Who's watching the children?



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, *Survey of Income and Program Participation*, 1991.

Food program vital to good child care

The Child and Adult Care Food Program (CACFP) ensures that children in child care and Head Start programs receive nutritious meals and snacks. By reimbursing part of child care and Head Start providers' food costs, CACFP helps keep the cost of child care affordable for low-income parents. And family child care providers who participate in CACFP also provide better quality care than those who don't, according to one recent study.

Providers who participate in the CACFP are required to be licensed or registered and are supported by an umbrella sponsor, which regularly visits the providers and furnishes training and support services. However, if Congress block-grants federal child nutrition programs and leaves states with less money for these vital services, CACFP is in great danger of being sliced from state budgets.

"Our big fear is that with pending federal cuts in Medicaid funding, states will put their money into Medicaid and WIC (the Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants, and Children), and the food program won't get any," says Mark Sullivan, director of the Michigan 4C Association in East Lansing. "If we don't have a food program, children will be in a serious situation."

Loss of the CACFP would increase the cost of child care for providers, and place it out of reach for many parents. Diana Walter of Redwood City, California, runs a small day care operation in her home. Like many child care providers, she says she would have no choice but to raise her rates if her state demolished its CACFP, and if families whose incomes were above 185 percent of the poverty level could not participate. Under the current structure, CACFP reimburses family child care providers about $15 per week per child. If parents in California were forced to pay these costs, says Walter, "a lot of my parents would have trouble affording that."

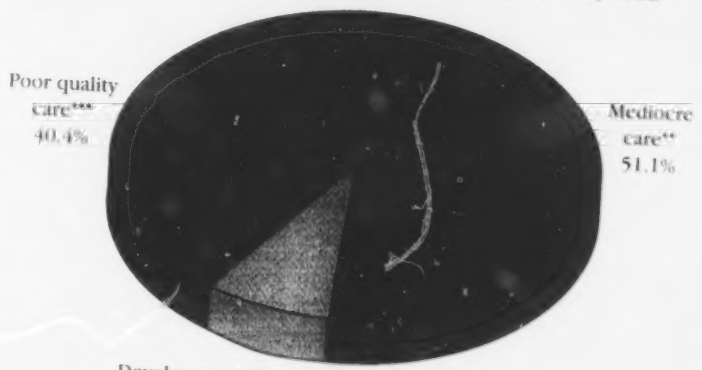
Many advocates are afraid that without the CACFP, family child care providers would have less incentive to become licensed, and the quality of child care might suffer. Studies indicate that the supply of family child care could also dwindle. Without CACFP, providers might be forced to go out of business or choose to operate illegally or underground. This would make it difficult for parents who depend on family child care providers to find child care, especially in rural states.

And if CACFP were lost and sponsors no longer visited child care centers regularly, there would be less oversight and less likelihood that children would receive wholesome and nutritious meals, says Sullivan. In Michigan, almost 73,000 children benefit from these meals and snacks every day.

Inadequate nutrition in the first years of life can be devastating for children. According to Congress' Select Panel for the Promotion of Child Health, preschool children often receive 75 to 80 percent of their nutritional intake from their child care providers. A recent report by the Carnegie Corporation stresses that poor nutrition can interfere seriously with brain development; impaired brain development leads to a range of problems, including learning disabilities and mental retardation. Low-income children are at particular risk of poor nutrition and of the physical and mental damage that results from an inadequate diet. A federal survey of one- to five-year-olds found that low-income children were less likely than their well-off peers to receive the recommended dietary allowances of 12 out of 15 key nutrients. A deficiency in even one such nutrient can do lasting harm to a child's growth and development.

Child care quality

Quality of care in 225 child care centers' infant/toddler rooms, 1993



* Developmentally appropriate care fully meets children's needs for health and safety protection, warm relationships, and learning opportunities.

** Mediocre care meets only some of children's health and safety needs in child care.

*** Poor quality care does not meet the health and safety needs of children and can be harmful to children's development.

Source: *Cost, Quality and Child Outcomes in Child Care Centers*, University of Colorado at Denver, University of California at Los Angeles, University of North Carolina, and Yale University, 1995.

Welfare block grants

(Continued from page 7)

resource centers where child care providers can borrow books and toys. "Thanks to the programs we have put in place, the bell curve of quality is improving," says Rheingold. "It would be a shame to lose that."

Advocates also fear that federal proposals would gut health and safety protections for children in child care, making it difficult for states to protect children in many child care settings. At press time, congressional proposals eliminated requirements that providers (except certain relatives) who receive federal funds must meet minimum health and safety standards.

Despite modest progress, states have a long way to go in improving the quality of child care.

What's clear is that despite modest progress, states have a long way to go in improving the quality of child care. According to *Cost, Quality and Child Outcomes in Child Care Centers*, a study of 400 day care centers in four states, three-quarters of centers offer children only "mediocre" care (care that neither harms nor helps children), and 12 percent of centers provide care so poor that it jeopardizes children's safety and development. Just 14 percent of centers offer care that promotes children's development. Care is worst for the youngest children: the researchers gave a "poor" rating to 40 percent of the infant and toddler rooms in child care centers.

Preparing for the future

In some states, child care advocates have formed multi-issue coalitions to fight pending congressional proposals, and also are preparing for the challenges that may accompany federal or state changes in welfare and child care policies. In Colorado, for example, a group of 25 business and finance experts appointed by the governor have been meeting since June to come up with innovative ways to pay for child care. Their final recommendations — expected to go to the governor in December — include changing the tax structure and appointing a permanent business committee to examine ways child care can work for industry. "It was interesting to see the perceptions that this group had about child care when they first got together, and how those perceptions have changed," says Hardy. "Even the group is amazed at what they're calling their 'conversion.' They understand now that child care is an economic issue for our state."

In Vermont, advocates are creating opportunities for state legislators to hear from parents about experiences with child care. For more than 10 years now, advocates in Washington County have held eight weekly "play groups" for parents and children. In the beginning, the parents discussed their child care concerns while the children played together. Now, state legislators are being invited to attend the play groups, to hear from parents first-hand about their child care needs.

It's important to talk to legislators in "language they can understand," notes Pennsylvania's Benso. "We now talk about child care in terms of what it means for the state's economic development, and we emphasize that resource and referral systems help not just families, but employers." Pennsylvania's child care advocates also are broadening out from "single-issue advocacy," says Benso, to consider how to make sure children get all of their needs met.

Advocates must learn to come together, says Rheingold. "We can't just sit around crying over these cuts," she says. "The government needs to step up to their responsibilities to children and families, but as professionals, we need to step up to *our* responsibilities — which amount to us continually educating government and those in our communities about the importance of child care."

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States gear up

(Continued from page 2)

and leave the painful choices to counties or cities, which will be even less able to protect vulnerable children."

Broadening the range of state options

Some state officials now assume that the only way to cope with reduced federal funding is to cut back on even the most basic aid to children. Maryland officials, for example, already have announced that they are considering cutting welfare benefits for more than 81,000 families by as much as 30 percent, in anticipation of federal budget cuts. But advocates should help state decision makers understand that these decisions may not be necessary in the short run and will cause enormous suffering for already-poor children (see box, page 2).

If faced with block grants, "advocates' top three priorities," says CDF–Ohio Director Mark Real, "should be to establish a state guarantee for children, maintain the state's current investment in children, and help state officials find constructive ways to simplify current paperwork and bureaucracy without sacrificing the quality of services."

In areas where defending the status quo is a recipe for failure, says Real, advocates need to push themselves and their states to "rethink and reconstruct services, looking for ways to reduce costs or enhance program effectiveness without slashing eligibility or benefits for children statewide." For example, more aggressive employment and child support assistance when parents first seek help at the welfare office, as well as more flexible hours at agencies that provide child care or health care to working parents, may pay off quickly in lower caseloads and shorter stays on welfare, notes Real.

"What's clear is that advocates will have to be more creative than ever in the face of very tough odds," Real concludes. "Many state policy makers will be looking for ways to avoid or minimize harm to children as changes come their way, but in order to stand up for children, they will need to believe there's a workable alternative to across-the-board cuts in eligibility and benefits."

Working together for children

Building strong multi-issue coalitions will be a challenge for child advocates, notes Hackney. It's important, she says, for advocates to find out up front which state and local officials — in addition to the governor — will be making decisions about services that affect children.

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Otherwise, says Hackney, "advocates in multi-issue coalitions may find themselves working in a vacuum." In Michigan, for example, the state held multiple focus-group discussions during its state welfare reform planning, yet the groups' recommendations ultimately were not incorporated into the final welfare bills. The state legislature subsequently agreed to waive its right to intervene with the Michigan Department of Human Services, leaving child advocates with no idea about whom to approach to get things accomplished.

Advocates in multi-issue coalitions also should have a thorough understanding of the workings of state budgets, says NACA's Brooks. To give multi-issue advocacy groups the technical skills they need if they are to play a major role in strategic state planning, NACA is training advocates in 25 states to understand the intricacies of state budgets, through its Children's Budget Project. The project's goal is to give advocates the analytic tools to show how states can adjust to federal budget cuts in the short term and to highlight the impossible choices that states will face down the road. Advocates will also learn how to document the effects of state investments in children's services and how to compare their state's experiences with those of other states. Advocates who participate in the NACA training will in turn use their new knowledge to train advocates and coalitions in other cities. "Without a strong understanding of the state budget in relation to the economy, you can't understand what's happening to children," says Brooks. "The state budget always has been a major policy document, but that will become even more true in years to come."

The Center on Budget and Policy Priorities (CBPP) also is working to help equip advocates for the tough challenges that lie ahead, through its State Fiscal Project and its State Low-Income Initiatives Project. Both efforts are designed to bolster state advocates' capacity to analyze policy options and potential revenue sources. Advocates from 38 states and the District of Columbia gathered at a CBPP conference in December to learn more about strategies for protecting, strengthening, and financing Medicaid, cash assistance, and work programs.

Forging ahead in Missouri

Child advocates in Missouri have made a good start in building strong coalitions, as they prepare for the advocacy challenges that new federal legislation is likely to pose. To educate Missourians about the potential impact of federal budget cuts, Citizens for Missouri's Children (CMC) sponsored a statewide video conference in June, which was downlinked to 10 sites and reached more than 1,000 advocates. During the conference, state officials talked about how they plan to respond to federal budget cuts.

(See page 12)

States gear up

(Continued from page 11)

The following month, CMC organized a statewide Assembly of Child Advocates. Eighty children's advocates and service providers, including representatives from a welfare rights organization, a parent advocacy group, and a community mental health center association, drafted and adopted a "children's platform" to guide Missouri in its planning efforts.

The platform includes eight "principles for change" that CMC is urging the state to keep in mind when making its decisions about children's services. These include the tenets that:

- Block grants and government downsizing must not endanger the poorest and most vulnerable in our society.
- Failure to support children and families' efforts to become productive citizens is not acceptable.
- Policies should address the needs of children rather than focusing on punitive measures to change the behavior of their parents.
- Fathers and mothers share the responsibility for nurturing and providing for their children.

CMC and others currently are collecting endorsements of their platform from other local organizations. To date, 22 Missouri agencies have signed onto the platform, which ultimately will be used to lobby state legislators, says CMC's Director for Program Ruth Ehresman. "We feel there needs to be a lot of discussion before any decisions are made about children's services," says Ehresman. "That's why we've really been pressing for widespread community involvement."

These efforts appear to be paying off. Recently, Missouri's governor asked CMC to propose a statewide planning process, and state leaders have indicated that they would not make any precipitate cuts to children's services if new block grants are approved at the federal level.

"We're all going to be very busy over the next few months," says NACA's Brooks, "and some people may end up very frightened and confused. Yet if we children's advocates don't simply react by being scared, and if we understand that we're all in this together, then we're going to do a much better job of protecting children."

Of Note

Conference

April 10-13 — "The Spirit of '96: To Dream, To Dare, To Do," in Minneapolis, sponsored by the Association for Childhood Education International. For registration information, call 1-800-423-3563.

Publications

On Target: Effective Parent Involvement Programs highlights promising initiatives that bring families together to improve learning for their children. $14. Send orders to the Center for Workforce Preparation, PO Box 1200, Washington, DC 20013-1200.

What Works in Preventing Rural Violence, from the Wilder Research Center, discusses the unique characteristics of rural violence and provides strategies to prevent and intervene in violent behavior, improve services for victims, and reduce repeat offenses. ISBN: 0-940069-04-0; $17 plus $2 shipping. Order from the Amherst H. Wilder Foundation Publishing Center, 919 Lafond Avenue, St. Paul, MN 55104; 1-800-274-6024.

Child Care and the ADA: A Handbook for Inclusive Programs, by Victoria Youcha Rab, Ed.D., and Karen Ikeda Wood, Ed.S., is an easy-to-read manual that will help educators and administrators meet ADA requirements in child care and preschool settings. ISBN: 1-55766-185-5; 208 pages, $25. Order stock #1855, from Paul H. Brookes Publishing Co., PO Box 10624, Baltimore, MD, 21285-0624; 1-800-638-3775.

Two new publications from the National Center for the Early Childhood Work Force shed light on the growing crisis of child care and pose innovative solutions. *Mentoring in Early Care and Education* highlights various mentor programs across the country and identifies critical issues in funding and institutionalizing mentor programs in local communities. *Breaking the Link* identifies successful initiatives to raise child care salaries and explores strategies for challenging social attitudes, developing innovative funding and financing options, and building coalitions of parents, teachers, providers, business, labor leaders, and others committed to improving child care jobs and services. $15 each, plus 15% for shipping and handling. Call 202-737-7700.

Implementing Performance Assessment: A Guide to Classroom, School and System Reform is new from the National Center for Fair and Open Testing (FairTest). Copies are $6 each, postpaid; large discounts are available for bulk purchases. Order from FairTest, 342 Broadway, Cambridge, MA 02139; 617-864-4810.

Progress in Providing Services to Young Children with Special Needs and Their Families, by the National Early Childhood Technical Assistance System (NEC-TAS), is an overview and update to the implementation of the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA). $3; multiple copies are available at substantial discounts. Call NEC-TAS at 919-962-2001.

Early Violence Prevention: Tools for Teachers of Young Children offers practical ways to help children grow up to be assertive, nonviolent problem-solvers. $7 prepaid for single copies. Order #325, from the National Association for the Education of Young Children, 1509 16th Street NW, Washington, DC 20036-1426; 1-800-424-2460.

The Legal Environment of Social Work, by business law professor Leila Obier Schroeder, can help social workers discover how to use the legal system successfully to develop more effective interventions. ISBN: 0-87101-235-9, 382 pages; $34.95 plus $3.50 postage and handling. Order from NASW Press, 750 First Street NE, Suite 700, Washington, DC 20002-4241; 1-800-638-8799.

The second edition of ***Resources Related to Children and Their Families Affected by Alcohol and Other Drugs***, from the National Early Childhood Technical Assistance System (NEC-TAS), updates the March 1995 edition. The guide includes information on national training centers, state programs and agencies, federal funding sources, and funding agencies. $5; call NEC-TAS, 919-962-2001.

The new ***Child Care Aware Resource Catalog*** contains consumer education and family child care professional development materials that advocates may find helpful within their own communities. Free; order from Child Care Aware, 2116 Campus Drive SE, Rochester, MN 55904; 507-287-2220.

Migrant Children contains a comprehensive resource list and other materials to assist with injury prevention initiatives for children of migrant and seasonal farm workers. First copy is free; additional copies are $1 each, to cover shipping and handling. Order from the CSN Rural Injury Prevention Resource Center, National Farm Medicine Center, 1000 North Oak Avenue, Marshfield, WI 54449; 1-800-662-6900.

Short Takes

In education, states face falling budgets, rising needs

States are likely to have less money for public education at the very time that enrollments are rising and more children have special educational needs, according to *U.S. Education Spending*, a new report from the General Accounting Office (GAO).

School enrollments have been growing since 1990, after leveling off in the 1980s, says the report. Total elementary and secondary enrollment was 40.5 million in school year 1989–1990 and is expected to rise to 48.3 million in 2000–2001. Among these children, there are and will be increasing numbers of children who need special help because they are poor, physically or mentally challenged, or not proficient in English.

"The cost of educating these and other at-risk children," the report notes, "is generally higher than the cost of educating children not at risk." And while the federal government traditionally has been the source of funds for special education programs for low-income children and those with special needs, federal funding for education is slated to decline under Congress' plan to balance the federal budget in seven years.

At the same time, state education budgets (traditionally the largest area of state spending) increasingly are being squeezed by other budget lines, such as health care and prisons. Between fiscal years 1987 and 1994, state spending for schools, measured as a share of state budgets in the 50 states, fell by 11 percent, while the share of state budgets going to corrections — building and operating prisons — rose 10 percent.

The report says this decline in state spending for education is likely to continue, because states seem reluctant to tax citizens to pay for education. If all of these trends continue, the report concludes, "America may be less able to adequately provide educational services for many of our school-age children or make necessary improvements in the educational system."

For a copy of U.S. Education Spending, *send $2 to Health, Education and Human Services Division, U.S. General Accounting Office, Washington, DC 20548. Ask for GAO/HEHS-95-235.*

AFDC mothers face competition for low-wage jobs

People who flip burgers may receive only the minimum wage, but they actually are the lucky ones in the intense competition to find work in Harlem and other inner-city neighborhoods with few jobs to offer. This competition is likely to get even tougher if welfare reform pushes many more low-skill workers into the job market, according to a new report by two Columbia University researchers.

Finding Work in the Inner City: How Hard Is It Now? How Hard Will It Be for AFDC Recipients? compares the work histories of 200 people working in fast-food restaurants in central Harlem between 1992 and 1994, with those of nearly 100 others who applied for the jobs but were turned down. According to the study, the ratio of applicants to hires was about 14 to 1. Among those who applied for fast-food work in early 1993 but were rejected, 73 percent had not found work of any kind a year later, despite considerable effort.

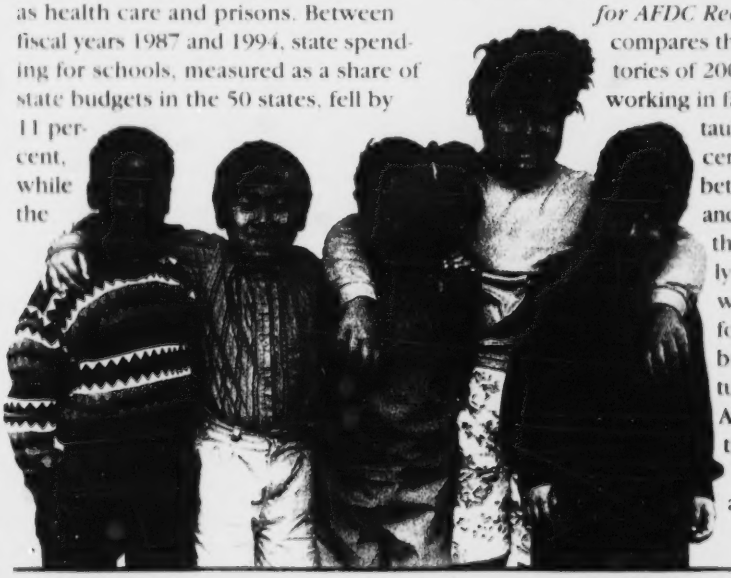

Photo © Nina Wurtzel

People who currently receive welfare but would be required to seek employment because of proposed changes in welfare rules — particularly young mothers who are poorly educated — would have an exceedingly difficult time finding even low-wage work, the researchers conclude. Even applicants who are being turned away from fast-food jobs in Harlem tend to have better education and work experience credentials than most long-term AFDC recipients. Employment that once was considered the province of young people lacking high school diplomas now is dominated by workers in their twenties who are more likely to be high school graduates.

Blacks appear to be at a disadvantage in the hiring process, compared with Latinos and others. According to the study, employers tend to favor the foreign-born over native-born American applicants, believing that foreign-born workers have a stronger work ethic. Employers also seem to prefer job applicants who commute in from distant neighborhoods.

A common perception is that people who don't work are holding out for unrealistically high wages. The study found, however, that the unsuccessful applicants for entry-level positions were, on average, willing to accept an hourly wage of as little as $4.19 — lower than the current minimum wage of $4.25.

About 18 percent of the population in Harlem is unemployed, and about 40 percent live below the poverty line — fairly typical, say the researchers, of communities where many long-term recipients of public assistance will have to look for work, if Congress elects to cut off their welfare benefits after five years.

For more information, contact Katherine Newman or Chauncy Lennon, Department of Anthropology, Columbia University, 452 Schermerhorn Hall, New York, NY 10027; 212-854-1754.

CDF at Work

Edelman receives Heinz award

CDF Founder and President **Marian Wright Edelman** is one of five recipients of the 1995 Heinz Awards for intellectual curiosity, individual achievements, and concern for humanity. The awards, named after the late **Sen. John Heinz** (D-PA), who died in a 1991 plane crash, were established in 1994 by the senator's widow, **Teresa Heinz**.

"Mrs. Edelman has spent nearly three decades speaking out on behalf of better education, nutrition, health, and day care for our nation's youngest citizens," says Heinz. "She created the Children's Defense Fund when there was no voice in Washington for children's interests, and she has been singularly effective in galvanizing support for children's issues. Her admonition that we remember our youngest and most defenseless citizens is timeless, but it is especially pertinent in a time of momentous change in government."

Edelman and the other 1995 Heinz Award recipients — former **Surgeon General C. Everett Koop**, opera diva **Beverly Sills**, lead-poison researcher **Herbert Needleman**, and biotech pioneer **William Rutter** — each received $250,000, to use as they wish. Edelman says she plans to contribute most of her award to CDF, to help match a $3 million challenge grant from the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, designed to "further our mission to leave no child behind and give every child in this country a healthy, head, fair, safe, and moral start in life," and to other charities that work effectively for children.

More than 600 CDF friends and children's advocates attended CDF's 1995 annual benefit at the National Building Museum in Washington, D.C., November 15, an event generously underwritten by the Gerber Companies Foundation and sponsored by Barnes & Noble.

Honorary co-chairs of the event, which raised about $460,000, were **Sen. John Chafee** (R-RI), National Baseball League President **Leonard S. Coleman, Jr.**, and U.S. Health and Human Services Secretary **Donna Shalala**.

Seven people and programs that are making a difference in children's lives were honored at the event, including **Frances Lucerna**, director, and **Luis Garden Acosta**, president of El Puente Academy for Peace and Justice in Brooklyn; **Dwayne Crompton**, executive director of KCMC Child Development Corporation in Kansas City, Missouri; **Peggy Cooper Cafritz**, founder, and the **Duke Ellington School of the Arts** in Washington, D.C.; **Dorothy Stoneman**, president of Youthbuild USA; **Gregory Warmack**, a Chicago folk artist known as Mr. Imagination; **Dr. Robert Wesley** and Physicians for Social Responsibility, of Irvine, California; and the **Rev. Cecil Williams** and **Jan Mirakatani** of Glide Memorial Church in San Francisco.

Luis Garden Acosta (left) and Frances Lucerna (right) receive awards presented by Maya Angelou (center) at CDF's Annual National Benefit.

Stan Dorn has joined CDF as director of the Health Division. Most recently, Dorn was managing attorney for the National Health Law Program, an arm of Legal Services that works nationally to increase low-income people's access to essential health care. Before joining the National Health Law Program, Dorn worked on teen pregnancy issues at the Alliance for Young Families in Massachusetts, and on low-income health issues in California.

Student newspapers at predominantly Black colleges and universities across the country now can publish a monthly column by the Black Student Leadership Network (BSLN).

"Young, Black, and Giving Back," distributed free to student newspapers, is intended to mobilize a new generation of servant-leaders engaged in community service and advocacy in their neighborhoods, states, and cities, to improve the lives of children. Upcoming column topics include violence on campus, and the legacy of Black fraternities and sororities.

For more information, call Lisa Rhodes, at 202-662-3616.

The Wizard of Oz in Concert," CDF-New York's celebrity-studded benefit held November 5, now is available on video. Turner Network Television aired the taped broadcast of the show featuring **Jackson Browne**, **Natalie Cole**, **Roger Daltrey**, **Nathan Lane**, **Joel Grey**, **Jewel**, **Luci Arnaz**, and **Debra Winger** several times in November and December.

The concert video is part of a $79.98 package, which includes a compact disc of the full score of the classic MGM film, a video of the original "Wizard of Oz" movie, and two photos from the movie. Proceeds from all sales of the video package will benefit CDF.

To order, call 1-800-201-8844 or 1-800-672-6202.

Money Talk

by Donald L. Hense, CDF Director of Development

Fundraising in the religious community

Religious organizations are likely sources of support for nonprofit groups that work with children, says CDF Director of Religious Affairs Shannon Daley-Harris. Although many religious groups have their own financial burdens and limited discretionary funds, local congregations generally share the goals and values of child advocacy organizations and are willing to contribute funds and in-kind help. Many religious denominations have set up foundations that distribute small grants to groups that help meet children's needs and strengthen the community. Representatives of such foundations (see box, below right) are always ready to discuss their grant procedures.

To seek funds from local congregations, first try to identify a congregation member or a clergy member you can approach. Ask this person about the congregation's interests, and get the name of an official who can talk with you about charitable contributions; this is likely to be the treasurer or financial officer.

If you have difficulty identifying individuals to talk to, Daley-Harris suggests you arrange to speak at a meeting of the local interfaith organization or clergy association. "By presenting information about your work to a local interfaith group, you will reach representatives from many denominations," says Daley-Harris. "This may lead to a fruitful relationship with a local parish or congregation that shares the goals of your organization." Your presentation may encourage a church or synagogue to add an annual contribution to your organization to its budget, or to take up a collection for your work during a service.

When you speak to a local interfaith group, says Daley-Harris, it's helpful to show slides or a video of disadvantaged children in your community and talk about how your organization has made a difference in their lives. Use statistics to bolster your argument, she says, and try to motivate your audience by explaining why it's important for caring adults to become a voice for children and how that effort relates to core religious values and teachings.

Once you have found the appropriate contact at a local congregation, make an introductory phone call. Remember that every denomination handles expenditures differently, so be sure to find out exactly how to apply for funding and what projects and organizations the congregation has supported in the past. Follow up your call with a proposal letter. Be sure to explain how you would use a contribution to help local poor and minority children.

In-kind assistance

Financial contributions from local congregations or grants from religious foundations may be limited (generally $500 to $5,000), but congregations may also be able to provide valuable in-kind support in the form of volunteers, space for events, and help with public education. Some churches and synagogues in your area may be looking to "adopt" an organization or cause, for which they can provide not only money, but also volunteers' time. Many religious organizations are willing to collect clothing or canned food, or to make lunches for distribution to needy children and families. You might persuade a religious group to co-sponsor a multi-congregation fundraiser, with proceeds going to your cause.

The CDF-sponsored National Observance of Children's Sabbaths encourages religious organizations to get involved in children's causes. Held annually on the third weekend in October, Children's Sabbaths raise congregations' awareness of children's needs, mobilize direct efforts to help meet those needs, and encourage the religious community to advocate for children at the local, state, and national levels. The theme of 1995's Children's Sabbaths was child poverty, and at least 40,000 congregations participated. Many of those congregations have identified or want to identify ongoing community-based efforts through which they can help relieve the effects of poverty on children.

Establishing personal communication with congregation members and religious leaders is key to obtaining support from religious groups, says Daley-Harris. A nonprofit group that makes the right contacts may find itself the recipient of small grants, donations, and plenty of eager volunteers for many years.

Religious foundations offer grants

Many religious foundations administer small grants for social causes, including:

Veatch Foundation (Unitarian Universalist)	516-627-6576
Lutheran Brotherhood Foundation	612-340-5821
Campaign for Human Development (Catholic)	202-541-3210
Evangelical Lutheran Church in America	312-380-2690
United Church of Christ	216-736-3260
United Methodist Church:	
General Board of Global Ministries	212-870-3600
National Youth Ministry Organization	615-340-7184
Commission on Religion and Race Minority Group Self-Determination Fund	202-547-4828
Episcopal Church Center:	
United Thank Offering	212-867-8400
Coalition for Human Needs	212-867-8400

4 Facts

You Should Know About Child Care

1. By 1993, 22 states did not require family child care providers to have first-aid training.
2. By 1993, 25 states did not require child care centers to have soft surfaces beneath climbing equipment.
3. In 18 states, by 1993, a lone caregiver was still allowed to care for five or more six-month-olds; in one state, the limit was 12 babies.
4. Of 225 child care centers surveyed, more than 40 percent of infant/toddler rooms provided poor-quality care.

For more information, see the Special Report starting on page 5.

CDF Reports

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Key steps for children in 1995

Action	Status (as of December 22, 1995)
Entitlements. Preserve guaranteed funding for key child-survival programs, including AFDC, food stamps, foster care and adoption assistance, child nutrition, Medicaid, SSI, and child-support enforcement.	The welfare bill, H.R. 4, eliminates many safety net protections. The conference version guts the AFDC and Medicaid entitlements, cuts into the SSI protections for disabled children, and drastically cuts food stamps and child nutrition programs. The entitlement to child protection services is only partially protected. The House and Senate passed the H.R. 4 conference bill late in December. On December 21, the president announced he would veto the bill. In addition, the H.R. 4 provisions are included in the budget reconciliation bill, H.R. 2491, which the president vetoed. Negotiations are under way on a new version of the reconciliation bill.
Welfare reform. Expand job opportunities, offer child care help, improve child support, and reject attempts to repeal or limit aid to families with no other means of subsistence.	See "Entitlements," above.
Head Start and child care. Expand funding for Head Start and for child-care programs that enable low-income working families to stay off welfare and that help welfare parents get jobs.	Inadequate funding for child care is included in the welfare reform bill, H.R. 4, discussed above, which is also part of the budget reconciliation bill, H.R. 2491. Child care standards would be weakened.
Health care reform. Preserve expanded Medicaid coverage for poor and near-poor children and extend affordable health care coverage to all children and pregnant women.	The conference version of the budget reconciliation bill, H.R. 2491, passed by both houses in mid-November, eliminates the Medicaid entitlement to health care for poor people, wipes out the EPSDT program for children, and repeals the Vaccines for Children program. The president vetoed this bill. Negotiations have begun on a new version.
Violence prevention. Fully fund key crime-bill prevention components, including Ounce of Prevention, Community Schools, and Family and Community Endeavor Schools (FACES).	S. 3 and H.R. 728 would *repeal* prevention programs. H.R. 728 passed February 14. Senate action may occur early in 1996.

Call the president!

Urge President Clinton not to sign any welfare or Medicaid "reform" bill that makes more children poor, sick, hungry, or at risk of neglect or abuse.

CDF's legislative hotline tape:
202-662-3678

Capitol Hill switchboard:
202-224-3121

U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

U.S. Senate
Washington, DC 20510

White House comment line:
202-456-1111
e-mail: president@whitehouse.gov

President Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

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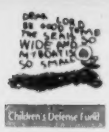
Advocate's Tool Kit for 1996



LEAVE
NO CHILD
BEHIND™

Marian Wright Edelman,
President

CDF Reports

January 1996
Volume 17, Number 2

Stand for Children

A Message from Marian Wright Edelman

On June 1, parents and grandparents, aunts and uncles, teachers and preachers, and all of us who care about children will come together in Washington, D.C., to Stand for Children. We will join in a National Day of Commitment to Children at the Lincoln Memorial—the nation's front yard—to mount a massive moral witness for and with children by Americans of every race, religion, income, age, and faith. We will affirm our responsibility for *all* children as families, as communities, and as a national community. Together, we will commit ourselves to taking positive personal and collective action to see that no child is left behind.

I urge you to join us in Washington on June 1 to:

- Stand together and speak truth to power for children with our presence, voices, votes, and hearts.
- Stand for something more than ourselves, more important than money, and more lasting than things.
- Stand with those who can't stand alone or for themselves: the young, the weak, the disabled.
- Stand and be counted for children in good times and bad. We will draw a line in the political sand that no office-holder of any party or ideology will dare cross, declaring that we are a people who place good policy over good politics, moral principle over political power, collective opportunity over personal opportunism, basic morality over money, and spirituality over materialism.
- Stand with parents

(See page 2)

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Election Year '96: What Nonprofits Can (and Can't) Do 11

Stand for children

(Continued from page 1)

who struggle every day and who need our help.

- Stand unwaveringly for America's values of fairness and equality, for compassion and common sense; and stand against callous people and policies.
- Stand tall against those who seek to hurt and divide and stand with those who seek to unite and heal our communities and families.

What you and I stand for and do now as parents and advocates...will shape our national fate in the next century and millennium.

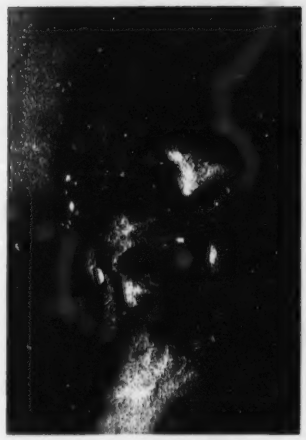
- Stand firmly against those who practice genderhood and racehood and classhood and culturehood, and stand with those who practice brotherhood and sisterhood and mutual respect.
- Stand up to those who mouth family values but who do not support family needs and who vote against crucial child protections.

The June 1 Stand for Children will not be a partisan or political day. It will be a day of spiritual, family, and community renewal and personal commitment to children. It will be a day for all Americans to transcend our differences and affirm what unites us as people: a sense of fairness; a loving desire to raise moral, healthy, and educated children; and a belief that in the richest and most powerful nation on earth no child should be left behind. We will return home after June 1 with a renewed sense of unity in our mission for children, a revitalized commitment to caring for children, and a range of personal and local action steps for 1996 and beyond.

We are living at an incredible moral moment in history. Few human beings are blessed to anticipate or experience the beginning of a new century *and* millennium. What you and I stand for and do now as parents and advocates—and encourage our political leaders to stand for and do in this last national election year of the century—will shape our national fate in the next century and millennium. It is time to call the moral question about whether America truly values and will stand up for children not just with words, but with work; not just with promises, but with leadership and investment; not just with a speech or photo opportunity, but with sustained positive commitment to meet children's needs.

We will stand together for children June 1 at the Lincoln Memorial because we know there is nothing more important than rededicating ourselves personally and as a national community to our children. We will stand together because we know there is nothing government can do that is more important than provide resources to help families help children.

Join us. Make history by answering this call to stand for children and for the promise of America's Dream for every one of them.



Marian Wright Edelman

For information on the June 1 National Day of Commitment to Children, please write to: Stand for Children National Day Headquarters, 1834 Connecticut Avenue NW, Washington, DC 20009, or call 1-800-233-1200, or e-mail to standinfo@mailback.com.

Moments in America for Children

Every 2 seconds	a public school student is suspended during the school day.
Every 8 seconds	a public school student is corporally punished during the school day.
Every 9 seconds	a high school student drops out during the school day.
Every 14 seconds	a child under 18 is arrested.
Every 25 seconds	a baby is born to an unmarried mother.
Every 32 seconds	a baby is born into poverty.
Every 1 minute	a baby is born to a teen mother.
Every 2 minutes	a baby is born at low birthweight (less than 5.5 pounds).
Every 3 minutes	a baby is born to a mother who received late or no prenatal care.
Every 4 minutes	a child under 18 is arrested for a violent crime.
Every 10 minutes	a baby is born at very low birthweight (less than 3.25 pounds).
Every 15 minutes	a baby dies.
Every 2 hours	a child or youth under 20 is killed by firearms.
Every 2 hours	a child or youth under 20 is a homicide victim.
Every 4 hours	a child or youth under 20 commits suicide.
Every 9 hours	a child or youth under 25 dies from HIV infection.

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Director of Publications:
Donna M. Jablonski

Senior Editor: Belva Finlay

Managing Editor: Marge duMond

Writer: Sydney Stephenson

Production Manager: Janis Johnston

Desktop Publishing Specialist:
Stephen Wilhite

Subscriptions: David Spencer

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Children's Defense Fund

President: Marian Wright Edelman

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Director of Government and
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Director of Development: Donald L. Hense

Director of Finance and Administration:
George R. Lasnier

Director of Communications:
Lynn Bowersox-Mcgginson

CDF Ohio, 52 East Lynn Street, Suite 400, Columbus, OH 43215, Mark Real, Director

CDF Greater Cincinnati, 258 Erkenbrecher Avenue, Cincinnati, OH 45229, Eileen Reed, Advocate

CDF Greater Columbus, 52 East Lynn Street, Suite 400, Columbus, OH 43215, Susan Lewis, Director

CDF Minnesota, 550 Rice Street, Suite 106, St. Paul, MN 55103, Jim Koppel, Director

CDF Marlboro County, 117 Cheraw Street, Bennettsville, SC 29512, Olive Covington, Director

CDF District of Columbia, 25 E Street NW, Washington, DC 20001, Darold Johnson, Acting Director

CDF New York, 200 Church Street, 2nd Floor, New York, NY 10013, Donna Lawrence, Director

CDF on the Internet:
http://www.tmn.com/cdf/index.html

Every Day in America

3 children and youths under 25 die from HIV infection.

6 children and youths under 20 commit suicide.

13 children and youths under 20 are homicide victims.

15 children and youths under 20 are killed by firearms.

95 babies die.

145 babies are born at very low birthweight (less than 3.25 pounds.)

342 children under 18 are arrested for violent crimes.

518 babies are born to mothers who had late or no prenatal care.

790 babies are born at low birthweight (less than 5.5 pounds).

1,407 babies are born to teen mothers.

2,660 babies are born into poverty.

Every day in America 2,660 babies are born into poverty, and 95 babies die.

2,833 high school students drop out each school day.

3,086 public school students are corporally punished each school day.

3,398 babies are born to unmarried mothers.

6,042 children under 18 are arrested.

13,076 public school students are suspended each school day.

An American Child's Chances of Being Poor

If White	16.9 percent
If Black	43.8 percent
If Latino	41.5 percent
If Native American	38.8 percent*
If Asian American	18.2 percent**
If in a female-headed family	52.9 percent
If younger than six	25.1 percent
If the head of the family is younger than 25	55 percent

* 1989 data from the 1990 Census.
** 1993 data
Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

20

Welfare for the Haves, or Well-being for the Have-nots?

The next time you hear that America can't afford to take better care of its children, think about this:

— ❶ —

With the $229 billion Congress agreed to give mostly to wealthy corporations and individuals in the form of tax cuts over the next seven years, we could:

- **Provide comprehensive health insurance coverage immediately to every uninsured child in America.** For $90 billion over the next seven years, we could pay the full cost of health insurance with comprehensive benefits for all children in families with incomes below 200 percent of the poverty level, and provide partial subsidies to help cover children in families with incomes between 200 percent and 300 percent of poverty.

AND

- **Expand Head Start programs steadily over the next seven years so that nearly 1 million additional children could be enrolled in 2002.** For $27 billion over seven years, nearly 1 million children could receive a strong foundation for future learning through Head Start's health, education, and family services.

AND

- **Increase child care assistance so that an additional 3 million children in working-poor families would receive help in 2002.** For $42 billion over seven years, we could offer child care assistance to the families of 3 million children, helping ensure these children's healthy development and their parents' ability to work to support their families.

AND

- **Lift 4 million children, more than a quarter of all poor children in America, out of poverty.** For $70 billion over seven years, we could rescue 4 million children from poverty by creating and steadily expanding a program of jobs, wage supplements, and child care for parents who are able to work, as well as income supports for those who cannot join the labor force.

— ❷ —

Charging a reasonable royalty for minerals extracted from public lands would yield $280 million over five years. (Under an 1872 federal mining law, corporations still can buy the rights to mine public lands for a nominal fee and then extract precious minerals without paying *any* royalties. Land containing more than $1 billion worth of minerals recently was leased for a mere $275, for example.) That $280 million could:

- **Pay for a full series of vaccines for nearly 2.2 million infants and toddlers** under the Vaccines for Children program.

— ❸ —

Eliminating the taxpayer subsidy for companies that ship our agricultural products overseas would save $3.4 billion over the next five years. With that amount, we could:

- **Give more than 780,000 additional children one year of Head Start.**

— ❹ —

By requiring the aviation community, which includes everyone from weekend fliers to commercial airlines, to pay the full cost of running our national air traffic control system, we could save about $7.2 billion over five years. That's enough to:

- **Provide five years of safe after-school alternatives to the streets — where a gun kills a child every 98 minutes — for nearly half of all poor six- to 12-year-olds.**

— ❺ —

There are a host of other fair and sensible ways to finance a Healthy Start, a Head Start, a Fair Start, and a Safe Start for every child in America. For example:

- By taxing inherited capital gains at the time of death, rather than allowing those gains to escape taxation through inheritance, we could raise $59 billion over seven years, or
- By capping the mortgage interest deduction for wealthy families at interest paid on mortgages up to $300,000, we could raise $35 billion over five years, to help America care for its children.

Key Facts About Children

Child Poverty Rates

21.8 percent of all American children are poor.

16.9 percent of White children are poor.
43.8 percent of Black children are poor.
41.5 percent of Latino children are poor.
25.1 percent of children under six are poor.
49.1 percent of children in single-parent families are poor.

Of all poor children:

61 percent are White.
32 percent are Black.
62 percent are in working families.

Families

70.5 percent of children live in two-parent families.

26.7 percent of children live in one-parent families.

2.8 percent of children don't live with either parent.

Child Care

7 million children under age 5 with working parents are in child care.

Three out of five mothers with children younger than six are in the work force.

Only 36 percent of three- and four-year-olds eligible for Head Start's comprehensive services could be served in 1995.

Infant Mortality Rates

8.5 babies died for every 1,000 live births in 1992. The infant mortality rate for Black babies is far worse—16.8 deaths for every 1,000 live births.

Low Birthweight

7.2 percent of babies were born at low birthweight (weighing less than 5.5 pounds) in 1993.

Prenatal Care

In 1993, 4.8 percent of babies were born to mothers who had received late or no prenatal care.

Insurance

10 million children were uninsured in 1994—an increase of more than 400,000 since 1993.

Immunization

25 percent of 19- to 35-month-old children are not fully vaccinated against dangerous but preventable diseases.

Gun Violence

3,351 children and youths ages 1 to 19 were victims of firearm homicides in 1992.

Firearm suicides and accidents killed another 2,016 children and youths in 1992.

Hunger

4 million children under 12 go hungry for some part of the month, according to the Food Research and Action Center.

14.4 million children received food stamps in FY 1995.

Children make up more than half of food stamp recipients.

13.5 million children received free- or reduced-price school lunches in 1993. Only a portion of these children received subsidized school breakfasts, and even fewer received summer meals.

6.5 million children and pregnant women received WIC nutrition supplements in FY 1994—72 percent of those eligible.

Education

14.4 percent of 20- to 24-year-olds had not completed high school in 1993.

44 percent of fourth-graders in 1994 had below-average basic reading scores; 29 percent of fourth-graders had below average basic math scores in 1992.

In 1993, only 24.7 percent of White 25- to 29-year-olds had completed four years of college; only 13.2 percent of Blacks and 8.3 percent of Latinos in this age group had completed college.

Teen Parents

513,647 babies were born to teenagers in 1993—a rate of 59.6 births for every 1,000 15- to 19-year-old girls. Although still too high, teen birth rates have fallen for two consecutive years.

Abuse and Neglect

3.1 million children were reported abused or neglected in 1994; 1 million cases were confirmed.

An estimated 2,000 children die from abuse and neglect each year.

657,000 children were in foster care in 1993.

A Year's Worth of CDF and B

Get out your new 1996 calendar and plan your Year for Children, using these tools developed by CDF and the Black Community Crusade for Children (BCCC), which CDF coordinates nationally.

February

Get **CDF's Nonpartisan Congressional Voting Record for 1995**. (It will appear in the February issue of this newsletter, or can be ordered separately from CDF Publications for $4.50.) See how your members of Congress voted on children's issues. Thank the ones who did well, and urge others to do better in 1996.

March

Publish **"Someone's Watching You"** public service ads in your organization's newsletters and periodicals. This new CDF–BCCC media campaign aims to make adults aware of the many ways in which they are role models for children. Ask your local newspapers, magazines, and civic groups to run the ads, as well.

April

Take part in the Black Student Leadership Network's **National Day of Action Against Violence**, April 4. Commemorating the anniversary of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s assassination, the National Day of Action is a time for communities to stand together against the scourge of gun violence. Last year's Day of Action observances included "heal-ins" dramatizing the fact that an American child is killed every two hours by gun violence.

May

Host a **Beat the Odds** celebration. Make it a fundraiser, if you like.) Beat the Odds events recognize and celebrate teens who have overcome tremendous obstacles to succeed in school and contribute to their communities.

Pioneered in 1990 by the Children's Defense Fund, Beat the Odds celebrations now are held in cities across America, including Atlanta, Cleveland, Washington, D.C., Minneapolis, Los Angeles, and East St. Louis, Illinois. Deserving students are recommended by teachers and other school staff. Award-winners are honored at festive dinners and receive scholarships, summer jobs, school supplies, and other items.

To learn more about hosting a Beat the Odds event in your community, call 202-662-3529.

June

Come to Washington, D.C. to **Stand for Children** on June 1. Every parent, grandparent, foster parent, child advocate, and service provider should join us for what can be the greatest show of strength for children in American history. We will rally at the Lincoln Memorial (see page 1). Make plans *today* to be part of this National Day of Commitment to Children.

July

Call CDF to find out how you can form a Child Watch coalition in your community. CDF has trained more than 50 community coalitions to organize Child Watch visitations. Through visits to neonatal intensive care units, devastated neighborhoods, even morgues, Child Watch gives community participants a first-hand look at children's problems, and the people and projects that work to help solve them. Your coalition can invite members of Congress and their staffs, political candidates, and local civic, religious, and business leaders on Child Watch visits. For Child Watch information, call 202-662-3660.

August

The deadline for **registering to vote** in the 1996 election is approaching. Call your local elections office to find out how to set up voter registration tables or pass out information about how and where to register. Plan a candidate forum for the early fall. (See page 11 for do's and don'ts for nonprofits.)

CCC Tools for Advocates

September

Plan to participate in national **House Party** day (watch *CDF Reports* for the date). Get a group of people together at your home, place of worship, recreation center, or club, to learn more about what the Black Community Crusade for Children is doing for children—and how you can help. House Party day also is an important opportunity to raise funds to meet the Mott Challenge Grant supporting the BCCC. Every dollar raised by African Americans is matched by a dollar from the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation. Information packets for planning a House Party will be available this summer. Call Wayne Marshall at 202-662-3676 for information or to order a packet.

October

Make sure your congregation participates in the fifth annual **National Observance of Children's Sabbaths**, on the weekend of October 18–20. About 50,000 congregations representing a variety of religious traditions participated in the 1995 observance, which CDF coordinates. The Children's Sabbaths encourage congregations to "Speak out, judge righteously, [and] defend the rights of the poor and needy" (Proverbs 31:8). People of faith come together to lift up and renew their commitment to children through worship, education, service, and advocacy. Endorsed by more than 175 denominations and religious organizations, the observances inspire congregations to put their faith into action to improve the lives of children.

Booklets to help you plan your Children's Sabbath will be available from CDF in June for Protestant, African American Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish congregations. A Multi-Faith booklet also is available. To order, send $5 per booklet for postage/handling to CDF, 1996 Children's Sabbaths, 25 E Street NW, Washington, DC 20001. Specify which version of the booklet you would like.

November

Get out the vote! Before the election, encourage clients and everyone you know who cares about children to vote. On election day, your organization can provide transportation to polls or child care for voters. Nonprofits can provide these get-out-the-vote (GOTV) services, too, as long as they're not designed to influence an election outcome (see page 11). The Black Student Leadership Network will have information available in early September for those wishing to conduct GOTV efforts on campuses. Call 202-662-3590.

December

Check out the **new parent's guides** from CDF/BCCC. *30 Simple Things Parents Can Do To Keep Children Safe from Violence* is a must-have, common-sense guide. *A Parent's Guide to Child Advocacy* gives parents the basics of advocating for their children—and all children. Also being developed are parent's guides to child support and to getting children into college. Watch *CDF Reports* for ordering information.

Any Time and Often

- Please visit our home page on the World Wide Web for updates, alerts, news, and more ways to help children. The address is: http:www//tmn.com/cdf/index.html.
- Find out how you can help—or help to start—a local Freedom School. The BCCC's Black Student Leadership Network trains college students to staff and teach at Freedom Schools, which offer disadvantaged children and youths a safe, academically and culturally enriching place to spend their summer days. In many locations, Freedom Schools also operate after school during the school year. For information, call 202-662-3577.
- Call our legislative hotline at 202-662-3678 for updates on congressional action affecting children.
- Get on our e-mail alerts mailing list, to receive late-breaking news about legislation affecting children—and what you can do to help children. Call John Aravosis at 202-662-3601, or send us an e-mail at cdf@tmn.com.
- Support effective child-serving organizations. Even if you can't offer much in the way of money, you can volunteer your time by collecting clothing or canned food for the needy, helping children learn to read at your local school, or writing a letter to your member of Congress about the needs of children.

10 Myths and Realities

— 1 —

Myth: Children are poor because their parents won't go to work.

Reality: Most parents of poor children *do* work! Poor families in 1994 received twice as much income from work as from welfare.

— 2 —

Myth: There is a job for anyone who wants to work.

Reality: Millions of unskilled workers have been squeezed out of our post-industrial, high technology, information-based economy. Many more have lost jobs and benefits as a result of corporate downsizing, and relocation in foreign lands that provide cheap labor. According to one recent study, even among service jobs only about 10 percent require no credentials beyond a high school diploma.

— 3 —

Myth: Charities, rather than government, can take care of the needy.

Reality: Crucial private charity has tried hard to meet the massive hunger, homelessness, and family disintegration that plague our nation. But swamped, tired private charities cannot do it alone, particularly as "compassion fatigue" has caused donations to wane. Moreover, private charity is no substitute for public justice. Soup kitchens cannot substitute for jobs that enable people to buy their own food. Homeless shelters are no places to raise children or a desirable alternative to decent public or private-sector housing.

— 4 —

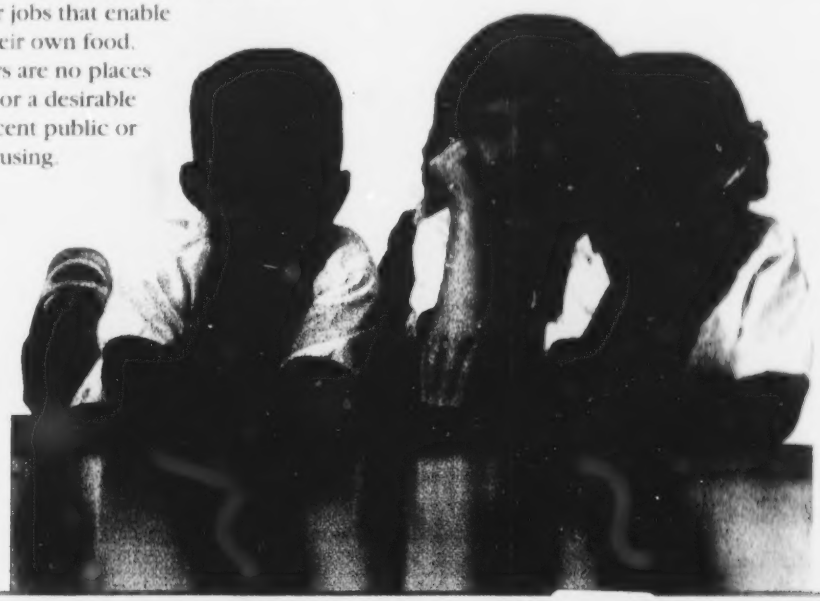
Myth: Nothing the federal government does to help people works. The Great Society failed.

Reality: There are federal social programs that work and others that don't work, just as there are defense, state, local, and private-sector programs that work and some that don't work. It is very important, therefore, not to deal in generalities or let people attack all social or government programs as if they are a monolith. Be specific. High-quality preschool programs like Head Start work. They save $7 for every dollar invested and help prepare children for productive lives. Vaccines for Children (VFC) is a program that works. Vaccines save children's lives, prevent sickness, and, depending on the vaccine, save $6 to $30 for every dollar invested.

— 5 —

Myth: Teenagers are having more babies.

Reality: Teen birth rates are decreasing. In 1993, there were 59.6 births for every 1,000 teenage girls—down from 60.7 births the previous year. Although the proportion of teen births that are to unmarried girls continues to expand, there also have been slight decreases in birth rates for unmarried teens.



— 6 —

Myth: These are Black people's problems. For example, most poor children are Black and most unwed teenage mothers are Black.

Reality: Most poor children—9.3 million—are White, and most babies born to teen mothers are White.

— 7 —

Myth: Tax cuts for the rich will help the middle class by trickling down and boosting profits and incomes.

Reality: When the rich get richer, they consume more, rather than invest more. In the 1980s when this was tried, the rich got richer, the poor got poorer, and everyone else's income declined or stagnated.

— 8 —

Myth: Cutting parents' benefits is a good way to change their behavior.

Reality: Cutting parents' benefits hurts children. It is wrong to punish children in the hope of preventing undesirable parental behavior. There is little or no evidence that denying minimal income, health, and housing support to children of welfare mothers will influence mothers' behavior. What it surely will do is make more children destitute.

— 9 —

Myth: Having a gun in your home makes you and your family safer.

Reality: In fact, having a gun makes you less safe and endangers your loved ones. According to a recent study, a gun in the home increases the likelihood of homicide threefold. A gun in the home is 43 times more likely to be used to commit homicide, suicide, or an accidental killing than it is to be used to kill in self-defense.

— 10 —

Myth: Children's problems are too big. There's nothing I can do that will make a difference.

Reality: *Everything* you do makes a difference. It's up to you whether that difference is positive or negative. Children are watching you. Just by being a good role model, you do much for children.

Just by reaching out to one child in need, you can give him or her the foothold for a better future. By working with others in your civic group or congregation, you can make one family's life better through donated clothing, mentoring, parenting education, or financial help. By working with local agencies and nonprofits, you can improve the well-being of children throughout your community. By speaking out and acting for children in 1996 and beyond, you can help ensure that our country leaves no child behind.

Photo © Human Issues Collaborative

America's Priorities: Opinion Poll Results

Many people believe that Americans enthusiastically embraced the Republican Congress' "Contract with America" and overwhelmingly want to cut spending for children or to eliminate guarantees for needy children and families.

But the polls tell us otherwise. Use these survey results to counter claims that Americans support budget cuts that would hurt children and families.

Priorities

• When asked in a November *BusinessWeek* survey whether the following benefits should be guaranteed by the federal government to all those who qualify, the public agreed either "strongly" or "somewhat" as follows: child care for low-income mothers, 75 percent; employment for all those willing to work, 72 percent; food stamps, 62 percent.

• Seventy-nine percent of Americans interviewed in the same survey said they "strongly" or "somewhat" agree that the government must protect the most vulnerable in society, especially the poor and elderly, by guaranteeing minimum living standards and providing social benefits.

• Of the Americans who were asked in an October *Los Angeles Times* survey what the most important priority should be for improving the economy, 36 percent said to reduce the deficit, while 36 percent thought it should be to fund domestic programs.

• Sixty-five percent of Americans told Yankelovich Partners the government should be doing more to help at-risk youths, in a poll conducted April 29 to May 9, 1995, for Covenant House.

Budget-Cutting

• Forty-three percent of Americans surveyed in a *Time*/CNN poll conducted January 10-11 think President Clinton has acted more responsibly in the negotiations over the budget, while 33 percent think Republican leaders in Congress have acted more responsibly. Forty-three percent favor President Clinton's plan to balance the budget in seven years, while 35 percent favor the Congressional leaders' plans.

Violence

• A Kaiser Permanente study in December showed that 71 percent of 7- to 11-year-olds fear getting shot or stabbed at school or at home.

• A May *Time*/CNN poll found that 49 percent of gun owners favored stronger gun control laws, while 43 percent opposed them. Sixty-nine percent of gun owners favored retaining the ban on assault weapons.

Photo © Human Issues Collaborative

Is This the Best America Can Do for Children?

When compared with children in other countries, U.S. children lag behind in many key areas.

Infant Mortality

In this wealthy and advanced country, nine babies die for every 1,000 live births. Our infant mortality rate is worse than those of 19 other industrialized countries.

Low-Birthweight Births

More than 7 percent of U.S. babies are born at low birthweight. At least 17 other industrialized countries, including Greece, Spain, and Israel, have better low-birthweight rates.

Child Poverty

The U.S. child poverty rate (over 20 percent) ranks 18th and is 2 to 9 times higher than such countries as Britain, France, Italy, Australia, and Finland.

Math Achievement

In a 1991 study of 14 countries, the math achievement scores of U.S. nine-year-olds ranked 12th, behind such countries as Australia, Germany, and Switzerland.

Election Year '96: What Nonprofits Can (and Can't) Do

An election year is a great opportunity to raise awareness of children's needs — and to help shape party and candidate platforms so they benefit children.

If your organization is a 501(c)(3) nonprofit, it can conduct certain candidate education and limited voter education and participation activities, but must do so carefully. The following checklist will help you consider some election year activities. (It does not, however, take the place of detailed legal guidance. If your 501(c)(3) is considering any of these activities, you should seek further legal advice on how to conduct the activities correctly.)

You Can:

- Conduct nonpartisan voter education and participation activities that show no preference for or against any candidate or party.
- Ask candidates to speak out on your issues or endorse your group's goals— providing you do not announce to the public before the election which candidates have or have not endorsed your positions.
- Conduct nonpartisan voter registration and get-out-the-vote activities that do not favor any candidate or party. You cannot select a site for your get-out-the-vote work in order to affect an election outcome. But you generally can target your activities on groups such as women, minorities, students, or clients at food stamp offices or health clinics.
- Hold candidate forums or debates, providing all viable candidates are invited, questions are unbiased and presented by an unbiased panel, the range of topics is broad and of interest to the general public, and your group makes clear that it doesn't endorse or oppose any of the candidates.
- Continue regular issue-oriented public education and advocacy work, and attempt to gain public awareness and support of your positions.
- Distribute reports and other information about issues to candidates, as long as you treat all candidates and parties equally. If candidates ask you for materials, such as reports or issue papers that you already have written, you can provide them to candidates or to members of the public. If members of the public have to pay for your report, you must charge candidates the same amount. Information must be distributed to all candidates on the same terms and at the same time.
- Give candidates ratings, such as "approved," or "highly qualified," or evaluate their answers to questions.
- Compile information, write background memos, or provide other services specifically for a candidate.

Remember: *As an individual, on your own time and with your own resources,* you generally may get involved in partisan activities, including making campaign contributions and volunteering for a party or candidate. If you have a high profile within your organization, however, disclaimers may be necessary to make it clear that you are acting as an individual rather than as a representative of your group.

You Can't:

- Conduct any partisan political campaign activities, such as endorsing or opposing a candidate or donating money or services to a candidate, party, or political action committee.
- Set up a political action committee to make political expenditures or contributions.

Who Voted in 1994?

Group	Percent Registered	Percent of the Population Who Voted
All Americans	62.0	44.6
African Americans	58.3	37.0
Latinos*	30.0	19.1
Women	63.2	44.9
Income under $25,000**	51.3	33.0
Income over $50,000**	76.2	60.1
College-age youths (18-24)	42.2	20.0
High school graduates, no college	58.9	40.5
Four years or more of college	76.3	63.1

* Persons of Latino origin may be of any race. Percentages shown include citizens and non-citizens. 34.0 percent of Latino citizens voted.

** Data are for people in families only

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census

3 Reasons

Why You Should **Stand for Children** on June 1

1. To stand together with other Americans and affirm our commitment to children.
2. To affirm our responsibility toward children, as individuals, families, and communities, and as a national community.
3. To commit ourselves to taking positive, personal steps to see that No Child Is Left Behind.

CDF Reports

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Key steps for children

Action	Status (as of January 18, 1996)
Entitlements. Preserve guaranteed funding for key child-survival programs, including AFDC, food stamps, foster care and adoption assistance, child nutrition, Medicaid, SSI, and child-support enforcement.	The welfare bill, H.R. 4, eliminates many safety net protections. The conference version guts the AFDC and Medicaid entitlements, cuts into the SSI protections for disabled children, and drastically cuts food stamps and child nutrition programs. The entitlement to child protection services is only partially protected. The House and Senate passed the H.R. 4 conference bill late in December. On January 9th, the president vetoed the bill. In addition, the H.R. 4 provisions are included in the budget reconciliation bill, H.R. 2491, which the president also vetoed. Negotiations are under way on a new version of the reconciliation bill.
Welfare reform. Expand job opportunities, offer child care help, improve child support, and reject attempts to repeal or limit aid to families with no other means of subsistence.	See "Entitlements," above.
Head Start and child care. Expand funding for Head Start and for child-care programs that enable low-income working families to stay off welfare and that help welfare parents get jobs.	Inadequate funding for child care is included in the welfare reform bill, H.R. 4, discussed above, which is also part of the budget reconciliation bill, H.R. 2491. Child care standards would be weakened.
Health care reform. Preserve expanded Medicaid coverage for poor and near-poor children and extend affordable health care coverage to all children and pregnant women.	The conference version of the budget reconciliation bill, H.R. 2491, passed by both houses in mid-November, eliminates the Medicaid entitlement to health care for poor people, wipes out the EPSDT program for children, and repeals the Vaccines for Children program. The president vetoed this bill. Negotiations have begun on a new version.
Violence prevention. Fully fund key crime-bill prevention components, including Ounce of Prevention, Community Schools, and Family and Community Endeavor Schools (FACES).	S. 3 and H.R. 728 would *repeal* prevention programs. H.R. 728 passed February 14, 1995. Senate action may occur early in 1996.

Call the president!

Urge President Clinton not to sign any welfare or Medicaid "reform" bill that makes more children poor, sick, hungry, or at risk of neglect or abuse.

CDF's legislative hotline tape:
202-662-3678

Capitol Hill switchboard:
202-224-3121

U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

U.S. Senate
Washington, DC 20510

White House comment line:
202-456-1111
e-mail: president@whitehouse.gov

President Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

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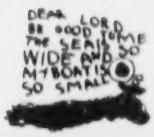

LEAVE NO CHILD BEHIND℠

Children's Defense Fund

CDF Reports

Marian Wright Edelman, President

February 1996
Volume 17, Number 3

Recommit to children

Yearbook reveals new evidence of U.S. children's plight

CDF's annual review of how the nation's children are faring leaves no doubt that parents and all Americans must commit new energy and efforts to improving children's lives, CDF President Marian Wright Edelman said in releasing CDF's *State of America's Children Yearbook 1996* on February 1. "It's time to hold ourselves to a higher standard of care and concern for children, in our homes, in our communities, and in our government at all levels," she said.

Edelman called for parents and grandparents, child advocates, educators, students, religious leaders, professionals, civil rights activists, cultural and business and community leaders, and all those who care about children and America's future to Stand For Children at the Lincoln Memorial on June 1. "We hope," said Edelman, "that the day will mark the beginning of a new era in which we hold ourselves as parents, citizens, and leaders responsible for ensuring that America's dream remains alive for every child."

The yearbook documents just how badly America's children need greater attention and investments:

- Fully 21.8 percent of America's children are poor, although child poverty declined slightly in 1994.
- Ten million U.S. children had no health insurance for the entire year in 1994.
- A total of 3.1 million children were reported abused or neglected in 1994—about double the number reported 10 years earlier.
- One child every 98 minutes is killed by firearms, and a child between the ages of 12 and 15 is *more than twice as likely* to be a victim of violence as is an adult older than 24.
- Only 7 percent of all 17-year-olds have mastered algebra.
- Marijuana use nearly doubled among 12- to 17-year-olds between 1992 and 1994.

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Children's plight

(Continued from page 1)

These realities stem from our failure—as individuals, as communities, and as corporate, civic, cultural, and political leaders—to place children first, Edelman writes in her introduction to the 1996 yearbook. "It is time to call the moral question about whether America truly values and will stand up for children not just with words but with work; not just with promises but with leadership and investment in child health and family economic security; not just with a speech or photo opportunity, but with sustained positive commitment to meet child needs."

If current trends continue, less than half of the nation's children will be covered by employer-based insurance by 2000.

Sobering trends

As it does each year, CDF's new yearbook reports the most recent data and reviews the previous year's developments in the areas of health, family income, child care, child welfare, violence against and by children, education, and teen pregnancy prevention.

The trends are troubling, says CDF Director of Programs and Policy Cliff Johnson. For example, there was new evidence of worsening trends in violent offenses by juveniles, drug and alcohol use by teens, low-birthweight births, and the number of children in foster care, says Johnson. On other indicators of children's well-being, such as median family income, educational achievement, receipt of prenatal care, and unemployment among youths and adults, the nation is only standing still. "And even where some improvements are evident," says Johnson, "the news is mixed at best. For example, the infant mortality rate has declined, but the drop reflects advances in the technology that keeps very premature infants alive, not increasing rates of prenatal care and improved prevention efforts. And while child poverty declined somewhat in 1994, the improvement was not as great as might have been expected, given the strength of the economy that year."

Congressional proposals for welfare "reform" would almost certainly increase child poverty, says the yearbook. The authors summarize several studies released in 1995 illustrating how difficult it is, even in our relatively strong economy, for low-skilled welfare recipients and others to find work. A study of fast-food jobs in Central Harlem, for example, found that for every person hired, 13 applicants were turned away, many of them with high school diplomas and prior work experience. The yearbook cites an Urban Institute study concluding that, of all mothers reaching the proposed five-year limit on welfare benefits, two-thirds would be unable to find work, leaving families and children without jobs or cash assistance to help them meet their most basic survival needs.

"No state has addressed head-on the issue of job availability, when considering the welfare time limits," says Johnson. "It's imperative that states improve employment opportunities for welfare recipients and other parents struggling to support their children."

Children lose health coverage

Developments in 1995 also jeopardize children's health, the yearbook reports. Children continue to lose employer-based health insurance coverage, as employers drop all coverage, or end dependent coverage, or increase employees' share of premiums for dependents. Since 1987, some 750,000 children a year have lost private coverage. If the trend continues and efforts to expand public health care coverage do not move forward, less than half of the nation's children will be covered by employer-based insurance by the year 2000, according to the yearbook.

This trend is all the more serious in light of the congressional proposal to jettison Medicaid's basic guarantee of health coverage for low-income children and sharply reduce Medicaid funding. Not only would Medicaid lack funding to cover some of the low-income children losing private insurance, says the yearbook, but as many as 5 million children now covered would be at risk of losing Medicaid in the future.

Questions about managed care

According to the yearbook, the rapid move to managed care also may pose threats to children and pregnant women enrolled in Medicaid. In 1994, 23 percent of all Medicaid beneficiaries were enrolled in some kind of managed care, the yearbook reports. Whether the quality of health care is improved, or even maintained, under Medicaid managed care depends on such factors as whether the plans provide the full range of services now covered by Medicaid, including comprehensive services to children as required by federal law, and whether plans give providers financial incentives to deny care to patients. Washington State's Healthy Options program is described as a promising effort to use managed care to improve families' access to the same range and amount of services offered under the state's Medicaid fee-for-service program.

New efforts to protect children from violence

Reviewing the latest data on gun violence against and by children, the yearbook's authors found no evidence that the violence epidemic is abating. Yet they chronicle signs of hope in the increasing number of individuals and community groups that are assuming responsibility for initiating take-back-the-streets campaigns, creating safe corridors to and from schools and safe after-school programs, and seeking ways to keep guns out of the hands of children. "The work of protecting children from violence must be a shared responsibility, one accepted by individuals, communities, and all levels of government," says the yearbook. "The apparent abandonment of this responsibility by the new Congress and many state leaders makes it all the more urgent for increasing numbers of Americans to join together to build a movement to end the plague of gun violence in our communities and to keep children safe."

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Director of Publications: Donna M. Jablonski

Senior Editor: Belva Finlay

Managing Editor: Marge duMond

Writers: Sydney Stephenson, Lisa Rhodes

Production Manager: Janis Johnston

Desktop Publishing Specialist: Stephen Wilhite

Subscriptions: David Spencer

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Children's Defense Fund

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Director of Programs and Policy: Clifford M. Johnson

Director of Government and Community Affairs: Jay Hedlund

Director of Development: Donald L. Hense

Director of Finance and Administration: George R. Lasnier

Director of Communications: Lynn Bowersox-Megginson

CDF Ohio, 52 East Lynn Street, Suite 400, Columbus, OH 43215, Mark Real, Director

CDF Greater Cincinnati, 258 Erkenbrecher Avenue, Cincinnati, OH 45229, Eileen Reed, Advocate

CDF Greater Columbus, 52 East Lynn Street, Suite 400, Columbus, OH 43215, Susan Lewis, Director

CDF Minnesota, 550 Rice Street, Suite 106, St. Paul, MN 55103, Jim Koppel, Director

CDF Marlboro County, 117 Cheraw Street, Bennettsville, SC 29512, Marian David, Director

CDF District of Columbia, 25 E Street NW, Washington, DC 20001, Darold Johnson, Acting Director

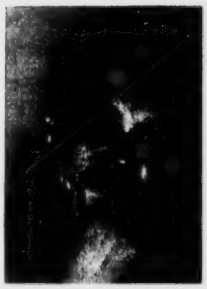
CDF New York, 200 Church Street, 2nd Floor, New York, NY 10013, Donna Lawrence, Director

CDF on the Internet: http://www.tmn.com/cdf/index.html

A Voice for Children

by Marian Wright Edelman

Stand For Children



Melanie and Mike Daniel and their two daughters are typical of many working families in America struggling to make ends meet. For years, Mike worked three jobs so he could support his family while attending college. Now 27 and a recent graduate, Mike is an assistant manager at County General Store in Grand Forks, North Dakota. Melanie, 26, works at T.J. Maxx while attending college. Despite all their efforts, last year the family grossed just $16,000. "We love our children very much," Melanie says of Kailey, 7, and Hannah, 3, "and it hasn't always been easy keeping them warm and fed."

So the Daniel family plans to Stand For Children at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C., June 1. "We'll be there because we want better for our children and for all children," says Melanie, "and we hope every parent will be there with us."

I hope so, too.

As tough as times are and as hard as families are struggling for children, each and every one of us can do better. Parents and grandparents can do better for our children. Religious and community organizations can do more for children. Political, business, and cultural leaders can do a lot better: they can make it easier rather than harder for families to raise children.

After yet another year of pervasive, preventable, and unacceptable child suffering, death, neglect, and abuse, and of increasing breakdown of moral, family, and community values in our nation, *it is time to put children first in our families, in our communities, and in our government at all levels.*

America must stand up for its children, not just with words but with deeds.

Stand For Children Day—now endorsed by more than 600 national, state, local, and grassroots organizations, with more joining daily—will not be a partisan or political event. It will be a day of family and community renewal, celebration, and commitment to children—a day for all Americans to transcend our differences and affirm what unites us as a people: a loving desire to raise moral, healthy, and educated children, a sense of fairness, and a belief that in the richest and most powerful nation on earth, no child should be left behind.

If you are struggling to raise a child but know you could do better, come stand with us on June 1. If you are a young or middle-income parent working hard to make ends meet despite declining wages and economic insecurity, come stand with us. If you are troubled by the pollution of our airwaves, air, food, water, earth, and our children's values, come stand with us. If you are worrying about whether your children's schools are preparing them for the twenty-first century and whether there will be a job in their future, come stand with us.

If you are anxious that your children will get sick and not get decent medical care because you lack health insurance, come stand with us. If you are concerned about your children's safety in a country where 211 million guns are in circulation and random violence is pervasive, come stand with us. If you've had enough of political leaders from all parties using children as political props and pawns and talking about family values while not supporting what families need to raise healthy, safe, moral, and educated children, come stand with us at the Lincoln Memorial on June 1 (more details are on pages 24 and 26). Like the Daniel family, America must stand up for its children, not just with words but with deeds, as parents, citizens, and communities on the eve of a new millennium.

Community mobilizes to keep children safe

Four years ago, the Rev. Jerry Hardy felt as if a dark cloud were hanging over Lynn, Massachusetts, a small city of 81,000 located 10 miles north of Boston. Unemployment was growing. The crime rate was rising. Gangs were becoming active. And in February 1993, a 16-year-old was shot and killed outside a local high school in a dispute over a gold necklace and jacket. His friend was shot in the back and permanently disabled.

The tragedy proved to be a major turning point for the Lynn community. Before the youngster's funeral, Hardy, the rector at St. Stephen's Episcopal Church, and the Rev. Walter Murray, pastor of Zion Baptist Church, announced their intention to mobilize parents and people of faith to make Lynn a safer place for children and families. The result was ECCO —the Essex County Community Organization—an interdenominational, multiracial, and multiethnic coalition of congregations from low- and moderate-income neighborhoods that today is a testament to what can be achieved when ordinary citizens come together to reweave the fabric of community for children.

An appropriate role for congregations

Participating in a community effort like ECCO is an appropriate role for religious congregations, says Hardy. "The church has got to be a responsible citizen in its community," he explains, or it won't survive.

Hardy and other ECCO members first received training in community organizing, negotiation, research, and program evaluation from the Organizing and Leadership Training Center, a nonprofit group based in Boston. Then, working with community organizer Luke Hill, congregants from St. Stephen's and Zion Baptist held 40 house meetings, interviewing more than 100 children and their parents about the quality of life in Lynn and their chief concerns.

On the whole, says Murray, public safety, the lack of safe spaces, and the lack of recreational and educational activities for children after school were the issues most worrying Lynn families.

ECCO leaders knew that their group had many assets that could be employed to address these problems. They had good ideas about how to make their neighborhoods safer, committed parents and other adults to help implement those ideas, and buildings that could house after-school programs and other activities to keep children safe. But, says Murray, they knew that to be most effective, they needed the city's support.

One year after the teenager's death, ECCO members presented their findings from the house meetings at a city council hearing attended by 400 citizens, and asked for municipal funds to implement their ideas. When city officials told ECCO the city didn't have enough money to fund more community policing, after-school programs, and other efforts to keep children safe, the group decided to look into the city's budget on its own.

Thirty-five ECCO members spent a year meeting with city council members, heads of city agencies, and state legislators, mastering the nuts and bolts of the city's budgetary process, and thinking creatively about ways to find money for their initiatives without adding new taxes. To find resources to strengthen the city's community policing program, for example, ECCO persuaded state legislators to include Lynn with other cities slated to get state funding for crime prevention initiatives.

Important alliances

Meanwhile, ECCO was building important alliances with other community groups interested in allocating more resources for children and families. And , ECCO's own membership grew. By the time ECCO presented its budget, called Project Unity, to the mayor in the spring of 1995, the group had grown to 14 congregations.

The $3.4 million budget ECCO submitted to the mayor and city proposed funds to beef up the city's community policing program, establish after-school programs for youths at local middle and elementary schools, reopen two city libraries, provide 100 additional summer jobs for youths, and renovate local parks. While the mayor and city council studied the budget, ECCO worked to explain its proposals to public officials and collected 1,000 signatures from city residents in support of the Project Unity budget.

"We turned a tragedy into something productive, and awakened the churches out of their slumber to make a difference."

Commitment and organizing pay off

ECCO's commitment and grassroots organizing paid off. The mayor and city council approved the proposals in the group's budget, and almost all of ECCO's initiatives have been funded. "We were ecstatic," says Adrienne Berry Long, associate minister of Zion Baptist. "We made a promise to ourselves and our churches, and we kept it."

Today, 20 full-time community police officers work in Lynn. A dozen middle and elementary schools operate after-school programs, the city's two public libraries are open, 100 additional jobs were available to youths last summer, and a full-time ranger has been hired to provide supervision and serve as a positive role model for children at one of the city's parks.

"We turned a tragedy into something productive," says Murray, "and awakened the churches out of their slumber to make a difference."

CDF's Nonpartisan Congressional Voting Record of 1995

How well does Congress stand up for children?

Every member of Congress claims to be "for" children and in favor of families. But not enough members are willing to make tough choices to ensure every child a Healthy Start, a Head Start, a Fair Start, and a Safe Start in life or help their parents meet the health and economic security needs of their children.

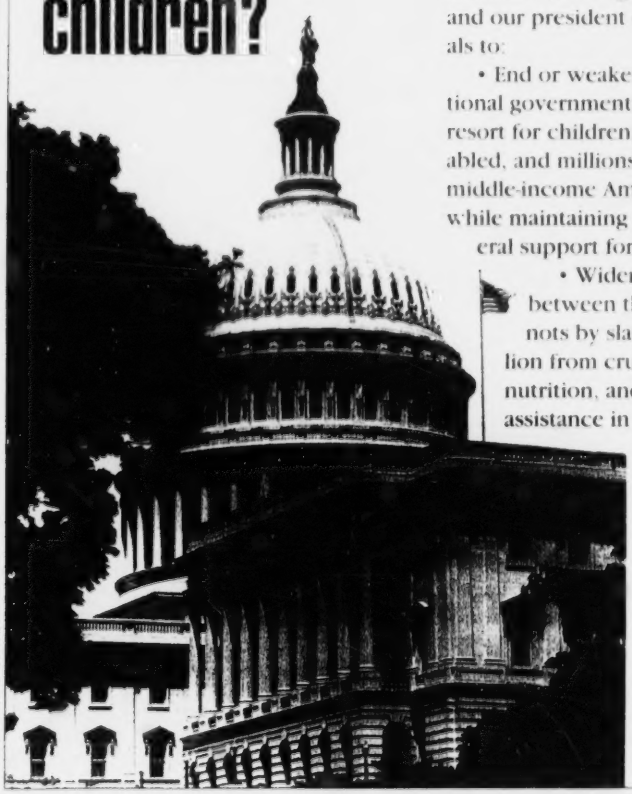


Photo © Keith Jewell

1995 was the most stressful and threatening year for children, families, the poor, disabled, and working Americans since the Children's Defense Fund began. Congress passed and our president considered proposals to:

- End or weaken the role of our national government as protector of last resort for children, the poor, the disabled, and millions of working and middle-income Americans of all races while maintaining and increasing federal support for the non-needy;
- Widen the income gap between the haves and have-nots by slashing over $228 billion from crucial health, income, nutrition, and early childhood assistance in order to provide a $229 billion tax break for wealthy corporations and individuals while raising taxes on the working poor; and
- Continue to exempt the Pentagon, corporate welfare recipients, and millions of non-needy Americans from their fair sacrifice in balancing the budget and in ensuring our children's well-being.

This nation-defining debate continues in 1996 in Congress and the country as a whole. Every American needs to be fully informed and involved as these moral, economic, and social choices are made. The current budget balancing debate is not about money. It is about values and ideology and national direction and the ideals of fairness and morality we seek to reflect and pass on to our children.

Have we Americans become so allergic to sharing, caring, and sacrifice that we will continue to sit back mute and stand by apathetically when our leaders make decisions that mock the prophets, the gospel, and basic fair play? Will we let powerful lobbyists trample powerless children and corporate welfare grow at the expense of child welfare? Do we believe massive back-end investment in prisons and punishment is preferable to front-end investment in prevention and early intervention? Does it make sense for the Pentagon to spend $30 million an hour when the internal enemies of poverty,

(See page 6)

1995 voting record

(Continued from page 5)

violence, neglect, and abuse are killing our children every day?

While parents have first and primary responsibility for their children, parents cannot raise healthy, educated, and moral children without the help of neighbors, religious congregations, schools, caring and safe communities, employers, and government at all levels which help not hinder their ability to raise children. It is time for citizens, especially parents, to hold political leaders accountable who make speeches about family values while voting to cut crucial supports for families and who say they are dismantling protections for children and cutting school lunches and immunizations and child care in order to help children.

The current budget balancing debate is not about money. It is about values and ideology and national direction and the ideals of fairness and morality we seek to reflect and pass on to our children.

We have included in this voting record for children key budget votes in 1995. Budget is policy and will determine whether millions of children will be hungrier, homeless, sicker, less well educated, neglected, or abused. The current budget balancing process is a complicated and multi-front assault on children and families. It has been difficult to educate citizens about its profound consequences for America's children and American values. We hope our words here will help you and encourage you to learn more.

One or two Americas? One or two tiers of citizenship?

Imagine two houses. One is a relatively small house at the seat of our national government. President Roosevelt began constructing it over six decades ago to make sure America's children, poor, and other vulnerable Americans would be guaranteed a floor of decency regardless of the state or family they chanced to be born in. Its four basic rooms include a family support room with Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC); child care to help mothers get off and stay off welfare; Supplemental Security Income (SSI) for families with disabled children; and the Earned Income Credit (EIC) to help poor working families get out of poverty and to make work pay. A majority of the families residing in this room have children, are White, and have a parent in the labor market.

While the family supports in the first room never were designed to lift all its residents out of poverty or to close the gaps in the economy for all those left behind, over the decades they have kept the wolves of hunger and homelessness away from the doors of millions of poor families, and helped many mothers and children escape domestic violence.

The second room is for child and family nutrition. More than 25 million of its occupants are children. School lunches, child care and Head Start feeding programs, food stamps, and summer feeding programs reside here. Construction of this room began in 1948 with school lunches. This room was expanded significantly during the Nixon years, virtually eradicating child and family hunger in America in the 1970s.

The third room is for health care, primarily Medicaid on which 20 million poor children depend for immunizations, prenatal, and primary health care. One in three births, almost one in three preschoolers, and one in two Black children depend on Medicaid health coverage. A majority of Medicaid children have a parent who works outside the home, and a majority are White. Here also reside the poor elderly and disabled persons and others who need long-term and nursing home care.

The fourth room is for children at risk of neglect and abuse, whose families are at risk of breaking down, or already have done so, and require the help of our overburdened child welfare system. About 3 million children need a safe haven in this room.

The rooms in this house for vulnerable children and families cannot accommodate all in need of help. Over 15 million American children, or one in five, are still poor. One in eight lacks health coverage and millions more lack adequate child care. Some of the rooms need renovation and some need expansion but the people who live here do not have a lot of money or power or ability to lobby for their needs. Since a majority of residents are voteless children, they are particularly unable to make their needs known.

Now imagine another much bigger house at the seat of our national gov-

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1995 voting record

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ernment alongside the smaller house. In this house live Americans who are not poor or disabled. Its occupants can hire lots of people to keep their house in good shape and even add to it. This house has bigger rooms that cost taxpayers a lot more. Its furnishings include $600 billion of entitlements indexed for the cost of living for 48 million Americans, most with income above the poverty level. Indeed, $81 billion a year goes to 6 million Americans with incomes of $50,000 or more. It houses welfare subsidies and tax breaks for big corporations, rich farmers and ranchers, and wealthy individuals which total about $100 billion a year. The Pentagon and its contractors live here, too. Congress recently gave them a $6.9 billion bonus the Pentagon did not request.

Most of the occupants in this house have not been asked to contribute much toward balancing the budget although they cost taxpayers three times more than the occupants in the smaller house. In fact, 50 percent of this house has been exempted from budget cuts, including corporate welfare recipients, Social Security, military pensioners, and the Pentagon.

Now imagine our congressional leaders saying they want to balance the budget. What is the first step they take? They vote a $229 billion tax cut for many of the people in the big house and pay for it by cutting $228 billion from the children and families in the little house. President Clinton proposed to give a tax cut of $87 billion, although he, like Congress, understands that someone has to pay for it—someone without much money or power.

Bulldozing our children's house through block grants

Although the unjust budget cuts directed at poor children and families are six to seven times worse than Reagan-era cuts, they are not the most serious battle children face in the multi-front budget war on the young, poor, and average Americans.

The massive cuts are like stealing the furniture from our children's rooms and knocking big holes in their walls and roofs. But through block grants, congressional leaders seek to *permanently bulldoze* our children's house—remove it from the seat of our national government and consciousness and disperse responsibility for *American* children out to 50 states with hundreds of billions fewer dollars and no safeguards for children.

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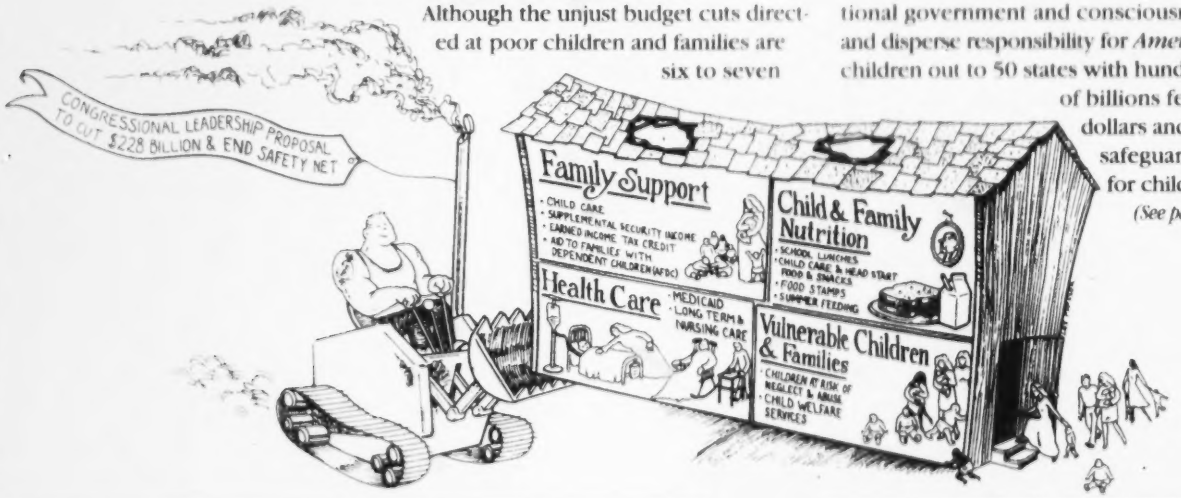
CONGRESSIONAL LEADERSHIP PROPOSAL TO CUT $228 BILLION & END SAFETY NET
Family Support
• CHILD CARE
• SUPPLEMENTAL SECURITY INCOME
• EARNED INCOME TAX CREDIT
• AID TO FAMILIES WITH DEPENDENT CHILDREN (AFDC)
Child & Family Nutrition
• SCHOOL LUNCHES
• CHILD CARE & HEAD START FOOD & SNACKS
• FOOD STAMPS
• SUMMER FEEDING
Health Care
• MEDICAID
• LONG TERM & NURSING CARE
Vulnerable Children & Families
• CHILDREN AT RISK OF NEGLECT & ABUSE
• CHILD WELFARE SERVICES

Every day in America

3	children die from abuse or neglect.
6	children commit suicide.
13	children are homicide victims.
15	children are killed by firearms.
95	babies die.
145	babies are born at very low birthweight.
342	children are arrested for violent crimes.
518	babies are born to mothers who had late or no prenatal care.
790	babies are born at low birthweight.
1,407	babies are born to teen mothers.
2,660	babies are born into poverty.
2,833	children drop out of school.
3,398	babies are born to unmarried mothers.
6,042	children are arrested.
8,493	children are reported abused or neglected.
13,076	public school students are suspended each school day.

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Using the proposed $229 billion tax cut to help children

The Republican leadership in Congress tells us that we can afford to give away a total of $229 billion in tax cuts over the next seven years—with much of that going to the wealthiest Americans, who least need help—and still balance the federal budget by the year 2002.

Let's accept for the moment the premise that we have $229 billion to spare. For that amount, we could make enormous progress in giving every child in America a Healthy Start, a Head Start, a Fair Start, and a Safe Start in life.

So let's accept for the moment the premise that we have $229 billion to spare. What else could we do with that $229 billion? For that amount, we could make enormous progress in giving every child in America a Healthy Start, a Head Start, a Fair Start, and a Safe Start in life. We could:

- **Expand Head Start steadily, so that nearly 1 million additional children could be enrolled in 2002.** Every $1 invested in high-quality early childhood programs like Head Start yields $7 in lower special education costs and higher future productivity. Yet Congress is moving to cut Head Start funding by as much as $137 million, a step that would deny 48,000 children the chance to participate in the program.
- **Increase child care assistance, so that an additional 3 million children in working-poor families would receive child care help in 2002.** Thirty-seven states now have waiting lists for low-income working families that need child care help. The welfare bills moving through Congress would so underfund child care assistance to help welfare parents work that states may be forced to eliminate all of their child care help for the working poor in order to meet the shortfall.
- **Provide comprehensive health insurance coverage immediately to every uninsured child in America.** About 10 million children have no health insurance, and 800,000 children each year are losing employer-provided health insurance. Massive cuts in Medicaid proposed by congressional leaders could cause another 5 million to lose health coverage by the year 2002.
- **Lift 4 million children—more than a quarter of all poor children in America—out of poverty.** We know that current levels of child poverty cost our society between $36 billion and $177 billion each year in reduced future productivity and employment. Congress' welfare bills would dismantle and destroy the basic income safety net provided by AFDC, food stamps, and the Earned Income Credit (EIC).
- **Provide safe after-school programs for nearly half of all poor six- to 12-year-olds throughout the nation for the next five years.** A child is killed by guns in America every 98 minutes. Yet instead of providing safe havens for our children in high-quality after-school programs, Congress last year decided to spend billions more on new prisons.

Instead of taking these crucial steps to invest in children, however, Congress is proposing to give a huge tax break to those Americans who least need the help.

- Seventeen percent of the tax cut would go to the top 1 percent of all families. About a third of tax cut benefits would go to the top 5 percent.
- The average family in the top percentile—with an annual income of roughly $250,000 or more—would receive a tax break of around $8,500. The average middle-income family would receive a tax break of $277. The average family in the bottom 20 percent would receive a tax *increase* of $11, when EIC cuts are taken into account.

Congress seeks to cut in half the alternative minimum tax for corporations. Before the minimum tax was passed as part of tax reform in 1986, America's 250 largest, most profitable corporations had managed to avoid paying any federal taxes in at least one of the preceding five years. Greyhound Corporation was the champion, paying no taxes at all between 1981 and 1985. Among the runners-up, with four years without paying taxes, were Boeing, General Dynamics, Grumman, Lockheed, and Transamerica.

Now look at how this Congress is treating low- and moderate-income working families. A married worker who had two children and earned $23,700 in 1996 would owe no federal income taxes under current law. However, if cuts in the EIC approved by Congress become law, this same family would pay more than $580 in income taxes.

1995 voting record

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Pending block grants have been wrapped in attractive slogans like welfare reform, state flexibility, getting government closer to the people, decreasing bureaucracy, weeding out waste, and decreasing teen and out-of-wedlock births—all goals CDF shares. But when you unwrap the box and examine its contents, as citizens in a democracy must do, you find a cruel gift to children struggling to beat the odds of poverty, sickness, family breakdown, and violence in our society.

President Clinton and some members of Congress say they want to find a political middle ground where children would be hurt a lot but not as much as they would be under the congressional leadership's "welfare reform" plan. While the congressional leadership's budget plan would dismantle all four cornerstones of the national house for poor and disabled children and families, many Democrats propose to eliminate only one: income assistance. But if you take away one of the cornerstones of a house, the whole house becomes destabilized and vulnerable. If the moral principle of a child's basic guarantee to survival income is negotiated away, why should not the guarantee to health and nutrition and child welfare and child care and safety be negotiated away now or later? If block grants are so good for poor children, why aren't they equally good for non-needy welfare recipients? Is there such a thing as half-justice or just a touch of morality? A tiny bit of right and wrong? Is it alright to cut off only one of your child's legs, or starve her at the same time that you give health care to keep her from perishing from preventable disease? Are these really our best or only choices?

What pending block grants mean for children

These block grants would take us back a century and say to America's children and families you have no right to the protection of your national government during times of need, recession, or natural disaster. If your state runs out of money and you are an abused child or mother—tough luck. If you lose your job and need temporary help—too bad. Block grants say it is not important whether an American child in one state has the same chance for health, safety, food, and survival as an American child in another state.

Block grants say we have two tiers of citizenship in America: that children and the poor are not entitled to a guaranteed national floor of assistance but well-off citizens, powerful corporations, and Pentagon contractors are. Block grants exacerbate America's indefensible gap between nonvoting children and voting adults.

What kind of family values does a nation have that is more willing to spend $20,000 a year to imprison a youth than to invest $1,000 to give him a healthy start with prenatal care?

Do you believe if you are a 13-year-old American who needs health care you deserve no guaranteed coverage, but if you are in the Senate or House or White House or State House or are 66 or 76 or 86 you do? Do you think if you are one of God's poor two-month-olds in Mississippi (which just ratified the 13th Amendment's prohibition against slavery in 1995 and reinstituted compulsory school attendance to age 16 in 1993 after repealing it to avoid *Brown v. Board of Education*) you should be given income assistance of $40 but if you are aged, blind, or disabled you are guaranteed a minimum of $460?

What kind of family values does a nation have that is more willing to spend $20,000 a year to imprison a youth than to invest $1,000 to give him a healthy start with prenatal care? What is more important to the nation's values and bottom line? Letting the few Americans who can afford it pass on an estate of $650,000 rather than $500,000 without paying taxes, or helping thousands more children whose parents have no estate to get ready for school through Head Start for the same amount

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How America stands

Among industrialized countries, the United States ranks:

1st	in military technology	**7th**	in science achievement of 13-year-olds among 15 nations
1st	in military exports	**12th**	in mathematics achievement of 13-year-olds among 15 nations
1st	in Gross Domestic Product	**18th**	in the gap between rich and poor children
1st	in the number of millionaires and billionaires	**16th**	in living standards among our poorest one-fifth of children
1st	in health technology	**18th**	in infant mortality
1st	in defense expenditures	**19th**	in low-birthweight rates

1995 voting record

(Continued from page 9)

of money? Who should have first call on our nation's purse strings for help? Donald Trump and mammoth drug companies, or children like Elisa Izquierdo whose slow, painful death from abuse in New York City might have been averted if more child welfare workers had been available—workers Congress and many states are attempting to cut further.

Certainly we need to balance the budget within a reasonable period of time. But not on some arbitrary seven-year political time line; not unfairly on the backs of poor, disabled, neglected and abused children....

True welfare reform

Certainly we need welfare reform that enables parents to work, but not "false" welfare reform that makes over a million new children poor and pushes additional millions of families deeper into poverty as both the Senate and House bills would do. And not welfare reform that ends the national safety net for poor children and retains the safety net for wealthy children and families.

Certainly we need health care reform that covers every child now, but not "false" reform like the proposed Medicaid block grant that, combined with eroding private health insurance, would increase the number of uninsured children from 9.5 million to 19 million by the year 2002.

Certainly we need to examine the appropriate roles of federal, state, and local government, of the private sector and charitable organizations, even as we need to demand greater family and community responsibility for children. But not the hasty shifting of the social welfare burden to states and localities without adequate planning, with billions fewer dollars, and with no accountability through block grants that are Trojan horses for massive budget cuts.

And certainly we need to balance the budget within a reasonable period of time. But not on some arbitrary seven-year political time line; not unfairly on the backs of poor, disabled, neglected, and abused children; and not without debate based on facts about the human consequences of proposed changes rather than on myths, slogans, and just plain lies that exploit our fears rather than affirm our faith in each other.

So we hope—whatever your point of view—that you will inform yourself about what your members of Congress are doing for children and about the needs of children and families in your community. We hope you will encourage them to ensure that their votes leave children better rather than worse off. We also hope you will urge them not to balance the budget unfairly on the backs of voteless, powerless children. Your calls, letters, and visits to your representatives for children who cannot vote or lobby for themselves will help ensure that no child is left behind.

How we compile this nonpartisan congressional voting record

Each year CDF compiles this Nonpartisan Congressional Voting Record to show how each member of Congress voted, to help parents, children's advocates, and others know where their representatives stand on important child and family concerns.

We chose the most crucial 11 House votes and 18 Senate votes among the many votes affecting children and families in 1995. We applaud the 28 senators and 158 representatives who scored 89 or higher and hope you will thank them and urge their continued leadership for children. We hope you will educate and encourage the 54 senators and 245 representatives who scored under 60, to be more responsive to the needs of children and families.

A voting record is an important but incomplete gauge of a member's concern for children. Some try to improve bad bills they end up voting for, as a few moderate Republican senators did in 1995. Sen. John Chafee (R-RI) fought in the Finance Committee and on the Senate floor to preserve a health care guarantee for millions of poor pregnant women and children. Others like Sen. Paul Wellstone (D-MN) tried to dramatize children's needs by offering resolutions or amendments to get the Senate to reject any proposals that would make children sicker, hungrier, and homeless. Seventy-seven House members, led by Reps. Robert Matsui (D-CA) and Patsy Mink (D-HI), stood up for children by voting "present" rather than "yes" or "no" on a bill important to the Clinton administration, in order to send a signal to the White House that they were serious about protecting the safety net for children.

The House and Senate have very different rules for considering amendments to a bill. In the House, a small committee controlled by the majority party decides which bills will be considered and which, if any, amendments will be debated and voted upon. In the Senate, there is a far broader opportunity for senators to offer amendments, so there were more Senate than House votes affecting crucial child needs in 1995.

Senators and representatives may miss a crucial vote affecting children for many reasons, some unavoidable. We count a missed vote negatively because children need every possible vote every time. This record also includes voting scores from 1994 to help you see more than one year of your senators' and representative's votes. A copy of the full 1994 Voting Record as well as vote records for earlier years may be purchased for $3 each from CDF Publications, 25 E Street NW, Washington, DC 20001.

The information about how a representative or senator voted on each bill CDF selected comes from CQ Washington Alert, a computerized legislative service, and is based upon *Congressional Quarterly's* record of the votes.

Key 1995 Senate votes

1. Balanced budget amendment

(H.J. Res. 1)

Balancing the budget is a desirable goal if done fairly and over a reasonable period of time. But we do not believe the Constitution should be amended because legislators do not want to make hard legislative budget choices. Since the pending budget balancing proposals were unfair to children and exempted half the federal budget from any cuts, CDF opposed the amendment.

The amendment would change the U.S. Constitution to require that the federal budget must be balanced every year. While this sounds like a good idea, and the need for significant deficit reduction is real, this constitutional amendment to balance the budget would hurt children and families in times of economic downturn and disaster. Because amending the Constitution is such a serious event, two-thirds of the Senate, or 67 senators, are needed for passage. It failed, 65-35 (March 2, 1995).

CDF's position was to vote *against.* (N)

2. Choosing education and job training investments over unneeded defense spending

(S.Con.Res. 13)

In this post-Cold War era, senators decided whether to limit the amount spent for defense each year for the next seven years to the annual amount we are now spending ($30 million an hour) and use the $34.8 billion saved for education and job training for children and their parents. The Senate rejected this amendment, 28-71 (May 24, 1995).

CDF's position was to *pass.* (Y)

3. Choosing investments in education over tax loopholes for wealthy corporations

(S.Con.Res. 13)

The Senate decided whether to reduce tax loopholes for wealthy corporations and use the savings to restore funds for Head Start, schools in low-income neighborhoods, and student loans. The Senate voted to kill this amendment, 51-48 (May 24, 1995).

CDF's position was *against* killing this amendment. (N)

4. Immediate cuts in crucial children's investments

(H.R. 1158)

Congress reneged on promised funding for children and youths, including after-school and summer crime prevention programs for children, child care, and youth training. More than 60 percent of the money Congress decided to take back was in child, family, and low-income programs. The Senate passed these anti-child cuts, 61-38 (May 25, 1995).

CDF's position was to vote *against.* (N)

5. Helping parents control children's viewing of violent TV programs

(S. 652)

A violent incident is seen on prime time TV every 12 minutes and on Saturday children's programs every two to three minutes, according to the American Psychological Association. By the time the average child begins school, he or she has watched 5,000 hours of television. This amendment to the telecommunications bill would require television manufacturers to install a special computer chip, called a "v-chip," in new televisions. The computer chip would allow parents to block violent television programs from coming into their homes. The Senate defeated an effort to kill this amendment, 26-73 (June 13, 1995).

CDF's position was to vote *against* rejecting the v-chip amendment. (N)

6. Budget resolution plan for Fiscal Year 1996

(H.Con.Res. 67)

The annual budget resolution reflects the values and provides the framework for the federal government spending that Congress approves for the year. The 1996 budget resolution sought to dismantle the 60-year-old safety net for children, families, the poor, and disabled persons; cut child nutrition, health care, child protection, and income assistance for poor and disabled children; raise taxes on the working poor; and lower taxes for more affluent families and corporations by tens of billions of dollars. The Senate passed the resolution, 54-46 (June 29, 1995).

CDF's position was to vote *against.* (N)

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Key 1995 Senate votes
(Continued from page 11)

7. Child care
(H.R. 4)

A majority of children under six have mothers in the labor force. They need safe, affordable child care. The Senate rejected an amendment to increase funding for child care by $6 billion over five years—funds needed to ensure care for children whose parents would be required to work to get off welfare—50-48 (September 11, 1995).

CDF's position was *against* killing this amendment. (N)

8. Child and family nutrition
(H.R. 4)

Fourteen million—more than half—of all food stamp recipients are children, and more than 80 percent of food stamp households include children. This vote was to block-grant this family nutrition safety net and turn responsibility over to the states, with billions fewer dollars and no accountability. The Senate rejected this proposal, 36-64 (September 12, 1995).

CDF's position was to vote *against*. (N)

9. Protecting children at the end of the welfare time limit
(H.R. 4)

Welfare should not be a way of life for anyone. But many unskilled parents find it hard to get and keep jobs. The Senate bill putting a time limit on cash aid to families on welfare made no provision for helping children whose parents had tried and could not find work at the end of the time limit. This amendment proposed coupons for parents to purchase specific items for their children, such as food, clothing, and shelter. The Senate defeated this amendment, 42-58 (September 13, 1995).

CDF's position was to *pass*. (Y)

10. Denying help to infants born to families on welfare
(H.R. 4)

The Senate welfare bill prohibited state assistance to babies born to families already on welfare. It assumed, without evidence, that denying benefits to a baby would influence the parents' behavior. The Senate voted to strike this "child exclusion" or "family cap" rule, letting states decide whether to increase aid when a child is born, 66-34 (September 13, 1995).

CDF's position was to *strike* the rule. (Y)

11. Teen mothers
(H.R. 4)

Preventing teen pregnancy is a national priority. We must address the lack of hope, opportunity, and school success that contribute to many teenagers' becoming parents before they are ready. But should babies born to teenagers be denied basic supports in order to punish their parents? The Senate rejected a proposal ordering states not to provide cash assistance to teenage mothers, 24-76 (September 13, 1995).

CDF's position was to vote *against*. (N)

12. Welfare "reform" bill
(H.R. 4)

The Senate voted, 87-12, to pass a welfare "reform" bill that would end the 60-year-old safety net for our nation's children, including family and child nutrition assistance, child care, cash assistance, and protections for abused and neglected children, and would throw another 1.2 million children into poverty (September 19, 1995).

CDF's position was to vote *against*. (N)

13. Job training for youths and young adults
(S. 143)

Job Corps offers at-risk youths and young adults intensive job training. With this amendment, the Senate voted, 57-40, to protect this program (October 11, 1995).

CDF's position was to *pass*. (Y)

14. Doing no harm to children
(S. 1328)

During 1995, Sen. Paul Wellstone (D-MN) offered an amendment to make sure that efforts to balance the budget would not make children hungrier, sicker, or homeless. After defeating the amendment three times, the Senate accepted the Wellstone amendment on his fourth try, without a recorded vote. On a later recorded vote, however, the Senate rejected, 53-45, a version of the amendment with teeth, which stated that if the budget law increased the number of hungry or med-

(See page 13)

Key 1995 Senate votes
(Continued from page 12)

ically uninsured children in 1996, Congress would act to stop these increases.

CDF's position was *against* rejecting the amendment. (N)

15. Helping working families make ends meet through the Earned Income Credit

(S. 1357)

Most poor children live in families that work hard every day. More than 12 million families with children receive the Earned Income Credit, or "EIC," which provides lower-income families a credit to reduce their taxes or help them pay their bills. The budget bill passed by Congress would raise taxes on poor and lower-income working families, by cutting the EIC by $31 billion. The Senate rejected this amendment to protect the EIC, 53-46 (October 26, 1995).

CDF's position was to vote to protect the EIC and *against* killing the amendment. (N)

16. Child health care through Medicaid, and protection for abused and neglected children

(S. 1357)

Nearly 20 million children, most from working families, are covered by Medicaid. More than 5 million children and hundreds of thousands of pregnant women could lose access to basic health care under the Medicaid block grant in the "budget reconciliation" bills. About 445,000 children in foster care also would lose crucial funding for placement in good foster homes or in adoptive homes, or for help in being returned safely to their parents. The Senate rejected an amendment to maintain current Medicaid protections for children and pregnant women and to eliminate the proposed funding cap on services for abused and neglected children, 50-49 (October 27, 1995).

CDF's position was *against* rejecting the amendment. (N)

17. Budget reconciliation bill

(H.R. 2491)

The Senate passed, 52-47, a budget reconciliation bill to dismantle and cut by more than $200 billion the national safety net for children and families, in order to provide a tax cut for the non-needy (October 28, 1995).

CDF's position was *against.* (N)

18. Welfare "reform" bill

(H.R. 4)

After meeting with the House to arrive at a compromise final bill, the Senate passed a welfare "reform" bill eliminating key child nutrition, health, child care, and income guarantees, 52-47 (December 22, 1995).

CDF's position was *against.* (N)

Do you know?

- In 1994, 15.3 million U.S. children were poor.
- In 1994, the top fifth of American families received 47 percent of all income, while the bottom fifth shared only 4 percent.
- More than half of children with Medicaid coverage live in working families.
- The average cost of serving one child in a child care center is $4,940 per year.
- While 44 percent of students in rural school districts and 47 percent in poor urban districts lack resources for learning math, only 15 percent of students in the wealthiest school districts lack such tools.
- An estimated 3 million children run away each year, and another 300,000 children are homeless.
- Homicide is the No. 1 cause of death among Black and Latino 15- to 24-year-olds, and the third leading killer of Whites in that age group.
- Twenty-eight percent of high school seniors in 1994 said they had binged on alcohol recently.

1995 Voting Record

SENATE

CDF Position	1 N	2 Y	3 N	4 N	5 N	6 N	7 N	8 N	9 Y	10 Y	11 N	12 N	13 Y	14 N	15 N	16 N	17 N	18 N	% '95	% '94
ALABAMA																				
Heflin H (D)	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	83	78
Shelby R (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	11	44
ALASKA																				
Murkowski F (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	17	44
Stevens T (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	22	44
ARIZONA																				
Kyl J (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	*
McCain J (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	6	33
ARKANSAS																				
Bumpers D (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	94	89
Pryor D (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	94	100
CALIFORNIA																				
Boxer B (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	89	100
Feinstein D (D)	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	83	89
COLORADO																				
Brown H (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	6	22
Campbell B (R)	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	39	89
CONNECTICUT																				
Dodd C (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	83	100
Lieberman J (D)	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	89	89
DELAWARE																				
Biden J (D)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	83	100
Roth W (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	17	56
FLORIDA																				
Graham B (D)	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	72	78
Mack C (R)	–	–	–	–	C	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	6	33
GEORGIA																				
Coverdell P (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	11	33
Nunn S (D)	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	72	78
HAWAII																				
Akaka D (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
Inouye D (D)	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	83	100

SENATE

CDF Position	1 N	2 Y	3 N	4 N	5 N	6 N	7 N	8 N	9 Y	10 Y	11 N	12 N	13 Y	14 N	15 N	16 N	17 N	18 N	% '95	% '94
IDAHO																				
Craig L (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	22
Kempthorne D (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	33
ILLINOIS																				
Moseley-Braun C (D)	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	89	78
Simon P (D)	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	89	78
INDIANA																				
Coats D (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	11	33
Lugar R (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	22	44
IOWA																				
Grassley C (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	11	33
Harkin T (D)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	83	89
KANSAS																				
Dole B (R)	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	11	33
Kassebaum N (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	22	56
KENTUCKY																				
Ford W (D)	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	89	89
McConnell M (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	6	33
LOUISIANA																				
Breaux J (D)	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	83	67
Johnston J (D)	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	83	78
MAINE																				
Cohen W (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	?	–	–	+	+	–	33	67
Snowe O (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	33	*
MARYLAND																				
Mikulski B (D)	+	–	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	83	89
Sarbanes P (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
MASSACHUSETTS																				
Kennedy E (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	89
Kerry J (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	94	100
MICHIGAN																				
Levin C (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	94	89
Abraham S (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	11	*

SENATE KEY:

1 = Balanced budget amendment
2 = Investments in education
3 = Education or corporate tax loopholes
4 = Immediate cuts
5 = TV v-chip
6 = Budget plan
7 = Child care
8 = Family nutrition
9 = Protecting children time limits
10 = Denying help to infants
11 = Teen mothers
12 = Welfare reform
13 = Job training
14 = Doing no harm
15 = Earned Income Credit
16 = Health care
17 = Budget reconciliation
18 = Welfare reform, final bill

% '95 = Number of times voted for CDF position, divided by the total number of votes (absences during voting are computed as negative votes)

% '94 = 1994 Voting Rating

Y = CDF supported the measure
N = CDF opposed the measure
+ = Favorable
– = Unfavorable
? = Not voting
* = Not a member in 1994
X = Not a member at the time of vote
P = Voted *present*
C = Voted *present* to avoid possible conflict of interest
D = Democrat R = Republican
I = Independent

1995 Voting Record

SENATE

CDF Position	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	% '95	% '94
	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	?	?	N	Y	N	N	N	N		
MINNESOTA																				
Grams R (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	6	*
Wellstone P (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
MISSISSIPPI																				
Cochran T (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	17	56
Lott T (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	44
MISSOURI																				
Ashcroft J (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	*
Bond C (R)	–	?	?	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	22	44
MONTANA																				
Baucus M (D)	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	72	89
Burns C (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	17	44
NEBRASKA																				
Exon J (D)	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	83	78
Kerrey B (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	89	78
NEVADA																				
Bryan R (D)	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	83	89
Reid H (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	89	100
NEW HAMPSHIRE																				
Gregg J (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	11	33
Smith R (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	6	22
NEW JERSEY																				
Bradley B (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	94	89
Lautenberg F (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	89
NEW MEXICO																				
Bingaman J (D)	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	89	89
Domenici P (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	22	44
NEW YORK																				
D'Amato A (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	17	56
Moynihan D (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	89	89
NORTH CAROLINA																				
Faircloth L (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	6	11
Helms J (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	6	0
NORTH DAKOTA																				
Conrad K (D)	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	89	89
Dorgan B (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	94	89
OHIO																				
DeWine M (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	17	*
Glenn J (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	83	100
OKLAHOMA																				
Inhofe J (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	11	*
Nickles D (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	6	33

SENATE

CDF Position	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	% '95	% '94
	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N		
OREGON																				
Hatfield M (R)	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	?	+	–	–	–	–	+	44	67
Packwood B (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	X	X	X	X	X	X	17	56
PENNSYLVANIA																				
Specter A (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	28	67
Santorum R (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	6	*
RHODE ISLAND																				
Chafee J (R)	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	28	56
Pell C (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	89	100
SOUTH CAROLINA																				
Hollings F (D)	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	89	89
Thurmond S (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	6	44
SOUTH DAKOTA																				
Daschle T (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	94	78
Pressler L (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	11	33
TENNESSEE																				
Thompson F (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	6	*
Frist B (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	*
TEXAS																				
Gramm P (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	?	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	6	22
Hutchison K (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	11	33
UTAH																				
Bennett R (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	22	44
Hatch O (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	22	44
VERMONT																				
Jeffords J (R)	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	33	89
Leahy P (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	94	100
VIRGINIA																				
Robb C (D)	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	78	78
Warner J (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	22	44
WASHINGTON																				
Gorton S (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	28	33
Murray P (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	94	100
WEST VIRGINIA																				
Byrd R (D)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	83	89
Rockefeller J (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	94	89
WISCONSIN																				
Feingold R (D)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	89	89
Kohl H (D)	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	78	78
WYOMING																				
Simpson A (R)	–	–	–	–	+	–	?	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	17	33
Thomas C (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	6	*

Key 1995 House votes

1. Balanced budget amendment

(H.J.Res. 1)

See explanation of Senate vote No. 1. Because of special rules to pass an amendment to the Constitution, two-thirds of the House, 288 representatives, had to vote for the amendment for it to pass. It passed, 300-132 (January 26, 1995).

CDF's position was to vote *against.* (N)

2. After-school and summer programs/crime prevention

(H.R. 728)

In 1994, Congress passed a crime law that recognized that both punishment and prevention are crucial to alleviating crime. Among the promising prevention initiatives were after-school and summer programs for children in high-crime communities. In this vote, the new House voted to repeal the crime prevention provisions of the 1994 law, 238-192 (February 14, 1995).

CDF's position was to vote *against.* (N)

3. Immediate cuts in current children's investments

(H.R. 1158)

See explanation of Senate vote No. 4. On this vote, the House passed the bill cutting these funds, 227-200 (March 16, 1995).

CDF's position was to vote *against.* (N)

4. Child and family nutrition

(H.R. 4)

See explanation of Senate vote No. 8. The House rejected this proposal, 114-316 (March 23, 1995).

CDF's position was to vote *against.* (N)

5. Welfare "reform" bill

(H.R. 4)

See explanation of Senate vote No. 12. The House passed the bill, 234-199 (March 24, 1995).

CDF's position was to vote *against.* (N)

6. Budget resolution plan for Fiscal Year 1996

(H.Con.Res. 67)

See explanation of Senate vote No. 6. The House passed the resolution, 239-194 (June 29, 1995).

CDF's position was to vote *against.* (N)

7. Silencing nonprofit voices in public policy debates

(H.R. 2127)

Known as the "Istook amendment," this proposal attempted to silence the voices of the nonprofit community, including many voices for children and families, by making it much harder for nonprofit organizations receiving federal funds to use other, nonfederal, funds to advocate or lobby. (Nonprofits already are barred from using their federal funds to lobby.) This unfair restriction would affect only nonprofits; defense contractors and others with federal contracts would be exempted, further tipping the balance of power in Congress in favor of powerful monied interests. CDF takes no government funds, and is not directly affected. But many service providers and child advocates for children would be silenced by the rule, at both the national and local levels, including the Red Cross, Catholic Charities, and the YWCA. The House rejected an effort to strike the Istook provision, 187-232 (August 3, 1995).

CDF's position was to *pass* the amendment striking the provision. (Y)

8. Annual funding for key child protections, including Head Start.

(H.R. 2127)

The House passed, 219-208, the annual appropriations bill that funds the departments of Health and Human Services, Labor, and Education, but it cut cost-effective child investments, including Head Start and education, and low-income energy assistance (August 4, 1995).

CDF's position was *against.* (N)

(See page 17)

Key 1995 House votes
(Continued from page 16)

9. Helping parents control children's viewing of violent TV programs

(H.R. 1555)

See explanation of Senate vote No. 5. The House passed a motion to include the amendment, 224-199 (August 4, 1995).

CDF's position was to *pass* the motion. (Y)

10. Budget reconciliation bill

(H.R. 2491)

See explanation of Senate vote No. 17. The House passed, 237-189, the budget reconciliation bill (November 17, 1995).

CDF's position was *against.* (N)

11. Welfare "reform" bill

(H.R. 4)

After meeting with the Senate to arrive at a final conference bill, the House passed this version of the welfare "reform" bill, which wipes out key protections for children, such as school lunch, family nutrition, health care, child care, and cash assistance, 245-178 (December 21, 1995).

CDF's position was *against.* (N)

A policy agenda for our nation's children

A Healthy Start

To give every child a Healthy Start in life, we must: (1) ensure that, at a minimum, every child and pregnant woman has **comprehensive health insurance coverage** from a private or public source; and (2) strengthen the **delivery of health care** so essential to children and pregnant women (including prenatal care, immunizations, and other preventive services), particularly among disadvantaged populations and within traditionally underserved neighborhoods and communities.

A Head Start

To give every child a Head Start in life, we must: (1) expand dramatically **private and public efforts to support families** with young children and bolster the parenting skills of new parents; (2) take comprehensive steps to **prevent teen pregnancy**, including providing girls and boys with positive life options; and (3) ensure the availability of **high quality child care, Head Start, and other early childhood development programs** that promote the full development of children so they enter school ready to learn while parents work to support their children.

A Fair Start

To give every child a Fair Start in life, we must: (1) build a stronger economic foundation for families through **job development and job creation efforts** in depressed areas as well as broader measures to ensure that jobs provide family-supporting wages and benefits; and (2) ensure every child the **quality education** needed to become self-sufficient in the twenty-first century economy.

A Safe Start

To give every child a Safe Start in life, we must ensure that children have **safe neighborhoods and safe schools**, **positive alternatives** to the streets, and **positive interaction** with caring adults. They also need **protection from the guns** that kill a child every two hours.

A Moral Start

To give every child a Moral Start in life, we must have **private *and public* values** that model respect for self and others, fairness, and honesty in our neighborhoods, communities, workplaces, government, and at home. The 10 Commandments and the Sermon on the Mount are not one-day or one-place imperatives.

1995 Voting Record

HOUSE

CDF Position	1 N	2 N	3 N	4 N	5 N	6 N	7 Y	8 N	9 Y	10 N	11 N	% '95	% '94
ALABAMA													
1 Callahan S (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	11
2 Everett T (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	33
3 Browder G (D)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	82	78
4 Bevill T (D)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	91	67
5 Cramer R (D)	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	73	78
6 Bachus S (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	11
7 Hilliard E (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	67
ALASKA													
Young D (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	?	?	?	–	–	9	44
ARIZONA													
1 Salmon M (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	*
2 Pastor E (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
3 Stump B (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	0
4 Shadegg J (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	*
5 Kolbe J (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	44
6 Hayworth J (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	*
ARKANSAS													
1 Lincoln B (D)	–	–	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	64	89
2 Thornton R (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	89
3 Hutchinson T (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	33
4 Dickey J (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	33
CALIFORNIA													
1 Riggs F (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	*
2 Herger W (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	22
3 Fazio V (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
4 Doolittle J (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	0
5 Matsui R (D)	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	82	100
6 Woolsey L (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
7 Miller G (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
8 Pelosi N (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
9 Dellums R (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	89
10 Baker B (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	33
11 Pombo R (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	33
12 Lantos T (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	91	78
13 Stark P (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
14 Eshoo A (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
15 Mineta N (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	X	X	100	89
15 Campbell T (R)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	+	100	*
16 Lofgren Z (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	*
17 Farr S (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	78
18 Condit G (D)	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	45	78
19 Radanovich G (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	*
20 Dooley C (D)	–	+	–	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	73	89
21 Thomas B (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	44
22 Seastrand A (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	*
23 Gallegly E (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	44
24 Beilenson A (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
25 McKeon H (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	44
26 Berman H (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	91	89
27 Moorhead C (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	22
28 Dreier D (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	22
29 Waxman H (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	91	100
30 Becerra X (D)	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	91	89
31 Martinez M (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	89
32 Dixon J (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
33 Roybal-Allard L (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
34 Torres E (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
35 Waters M (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	91	89
36 Harman J (D)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	?	73	78
37 Tucker W (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	X	90	78
38 Horn S (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	36	78
39 Royce E (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	0
40 Lewis J (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	18	56
41 Kim J (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	33
42 Brown G (D)	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	–	+	+	82	100
43 Calvert K (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	44
44 Bono S (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	*
45 Rohrabacher D (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	0
46 Dornan R (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	11
47 Cox C (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	11
48 Packard R (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	22
49 Bilbray B (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	18	*
50 Filner B (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	?	+	+	?	73	100
51 Cunningham R (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	56
52 Hunter D (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	9	0

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I = Independent

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1995 Voting Record

HOUSE

CDF Position	1 N	2 N	3 N	4 N	5 N	6 N	7 Y	8 N	9 Y	10 N	11 N	% '95	% '94
COLORADO													
1 Schroeder P (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
2 Skaggs D (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
3 McInnis S (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	22
4 Allard W (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	0
5 Hefley J (R)	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	18	0
6 Schaefer D (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	11
CONNECTICUT													
1 Kennelly B (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
2 Gejdenson S (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
3 DeLauro R (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
4 Shays C (R)	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	27	78
5 Franks G (R)	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	27	67
6 Johnson N (R)	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	27	78
DELAWARE													
Castle M (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	18	78
FLORIDA													
1 Scarborough J (R)	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	?	–	–	9	*
2 Peterson P (D)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	91	67
3 Brown C (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
4 Fowler T (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	33
5 Thurman K (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	?	?	+	+	73	78
6 Stearns C (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	22
7 Mica J (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	22
8 McCollum B (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	22
9 Bilirakis M (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	44
10 Young C (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	18	56
11 Gibbons S (D)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	91	89
12 Canady C (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	18	56
13 Miller D (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	22
14 Goss P (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	22
15 Weldon D (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	*
16 Foley M (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	*
17 Meek C (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
18 Ros-Lehtinen I (R)	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	27	67
19 Johnston H (D)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	91	78
20 Deutsch P (D)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	91	89
21 Diaz-Balart L (R)	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	27	67

HOUSE

CDF Position	1 N	2 N	3 N	4 N	5 N	6 N	7 Y	8 N	9 Y	10 N	11 N	% '95	% '94
22 Shaw E (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	56
23 Hastings A (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	78
GEORGIA													
1 Kingston J (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	22
2 Bishop S (D)	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	91	78
3 Collins M (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	0
4 Linder J (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	22
5 Lewis J (D)	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	91	78
6 Gingrich N (R)	–	–	S	S	–	–	–	–	S	–	–	0	22
7 Barr B (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	*
8 Chambliss S (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	*
9 Deal N (R)	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	27	44
10 Norwood C (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	*
11 McKinney C (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
HAWAII													
1 Abercrombie N (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
2 Mink P (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
IDAHO													
1 Chenoweth H (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	?	–	–	–	–	0	*
2 Crapo M (R)	–	?	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	11
ILLINOIS													
1 Rush B (D)	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	91	100
2 Reynolds M (D)	+	?	+	+	+	?	?	?	?	X	X	44	89
2 Jackson J (D)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	+	100	*
3 Lipinski W (D)	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	73	67
4 Gutierrez L (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	89
5 Flanagan M (R)	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	27	*
6 Hyde H (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	9	56
7 Collins C (D)	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	82	100
8 Crane P (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	0
9 Yates S (D)	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	82	100
10 Porter J (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	67
11 Weller J (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	*
12 Costello J (D)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	91	78
13 Fawell H (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	56
14 Hastert D (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	33
15 Ewing T (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	33

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S = Speaker of the House; votes only in rare circumstances or in the event of a tie

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C = Voted *present* to avoid possible conflict of interest

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1995 Voting Record*

HOUSE

CDF Position	1 N	2 N	3 N	4 N	5 N	6 N	7 Y	8 N	9 Y	10 N	11 N	% '95	% '94
16 Manzullo D (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	11
17 Evans L (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
18 LaHood R (R)	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	27	*
19 Poshard G (D)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	91	67
20 Durbin R (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
INDIANA													
1 Visclosky P (D)	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	82	100
2 McIntosh D (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	9	*
3 Roemer T (D)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	91	89
4 Souder M (R)	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	18	*
5 Buyer S (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	33
6 Burton D (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	9	0
7 Myers J (R)	–	–	?	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	?	0	44
8 Hostettler J (R)	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	*
9 Hamilton L (D)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	91	89
10 Jacobs A (D)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	91	89
IOWA													
1 Leach J (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	27	78
2 Nussle J (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	44
3 Lightfoot J (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	22
4 Ganske G (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	18	*
5 Latham T (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	*
KANSAS													
1 Roberts P (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	22
2 Brownback S (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	*
3 Meyers J (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	18	78
4 Tiahrt T (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	*
KENTUCKY													
1 Whitfield E (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	*
2 Lewis R (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	20
3 Ward M (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	*
4 Bunning J (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	22
5 Rogers H (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	56
6 Baesler S (D)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	91	89
LOUISIANA													
1 Livingston R (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	22
2 Jefferson W (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
3 Tauzin W (R)	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	18	67
4 Fields C (D)	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	82	78
5 McCrery J (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	44
6 Baker R (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	33
7 Hayes J (R)	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	45	56
MAINE													
1 Longley J (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	*
2 Baldacci J (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	*

HOUSE

CDF Position	1 N	2 N	3 N	4 N	5 N	6 N	7 Y	8 N	9 Y	10 N	11 N	% '95	% '94
MARYLAND													
1 Gilchrest W (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	18	67
2 Ehrlich R (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	*
3 Cardin B (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
4 Wynn A (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
5 Hoyer S (D)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	91	89
6 Bartlett R (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	11
7 Mfume K (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
8 Morella C (R)	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	55	78
MASSACHUSETTS													
1 Olver J (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
2 Neal R (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
3 Blute P (R)	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	36	78
4 Frank B (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	91	100
5 Meehan M (D)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	91	89
6 Torkildsen P (R)	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	45	67
7 Markey E (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
8 Kennedy J (D)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	91	89
9 Moakley J (D)	+	+	+	?	+	?	?	?	?	+	+	55	100
10 Studds G (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	89
MICHIGAN													
1 Stupak B (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	78
2 Hoekstra P (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	44
3 Ehlers V (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	18	33
4 Camp D (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	33
5 Barcia J (D)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	91	67
6 Upton F (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	18	56
7 Smith N (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	22
8 Chrysler D (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	*
9 Kildee D (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
10 Bonior D (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
11 Knollenberg J (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	22
12 Levin S (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
13 Rivers L (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	*
14 Conyers J (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	91	78
15 Collins B (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
16 Dingell J (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	89
MINNESOTA													
1 Gutknecht G (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	9	*
2 Minge D (D)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	91	78
3 Ramstad J (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	44
4 Vento B (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
5 Sabo M (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	89
6 Luther W (D)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	91	*
7 Peterson C (D)	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	64	44
8 Oberstar J (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	78
MISSISSIPPI													
1 Wicker R (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	*
2 Thompson B (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	89
3 Montgomery G (D)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	18	67

1995 Voting Record

HOUSE

CDF Position	1 N	2 N	3 N	4 N	5 N	6 N	7 Y	8 N	9 Y	10 N	11 N	% '95	% '94
4 Parker M (R)	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	18	56
5 Taylor G (D)	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	36	33
MISSOURI													
1 Clay W (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	67
2 Talent J (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	44
3 Gephardt R (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
4 Skelton I (D)	–	–	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	–	64	67
5 McCarthy K (D)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	91	*
6 Danner P (D)	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	82	67
7 Hancock M (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	0
8 Emerson B (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	44
9 Volkmer H (D)	–	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	82	67
MONTANA													
Williams P (D)	+	+	+	?	+	+	?	?	?	+	+	64	78
NEBRASKA													
1 Bereuter D (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	?	+	+	–	–	27	56
2 Christensen J (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	*
3 Barrett B (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	33
NEVADA													
1 Ensign J (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	*
2 Vucanovich B (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	56
NEW HAMPSHIRE													
1 Zeliff B (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	33
2 Bass C (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	*
NEW JERSEY													
1 Andrews R (D)	–	+	+	+	–	+	?	?	?	+	+	55	78
2 Lobiondo F (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	18	*
3 Saxton H (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	18	67
4 Smith C (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	27	67
5 Roukema M (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	18	67
6 Pallone F (D)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	91	89
7 Franks B (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	44
8 Martini B (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	27	*
9 Torricelli R (D)	–	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	82	89
10 Payne D (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	78

HOUSE

CDF Position	1 N	2 N	3 N	4 N	5 N	6 N	7 Y	8 N	9 Y	10 N	11 N	% '95	% '94
11 Frelinghuysen R (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	*
12 Zimmer D (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	9	33
13 Menendez R (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
NEW MEXICO													
1 Schiff S (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	44
2 Skeen J (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	44
3 Richardson B (D)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	82	67
NEW YORK													
1 Forbes M (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	9	*
2 Lazio R (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	78
3 King P (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	44
4 Frisa D (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	*
5 Ackerman G (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	89
6 Flake F (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	89
7 Manton T (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	91	89
8 Nadler J (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	91	89
9 Schumer C (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	89
10 Towns E (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	–	+	+	82	89
11 Owens M (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
12 Velazquez N (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	89
13 Molinari S (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	78
14 Maloney C (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
15 Rangel C (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	89
16 Serrano J (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
17 Engel E (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	89
18 Lowey N (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
19 Kelly S (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	18	*
20 Gilman B (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	9	67
21 McNulty M (D)	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	82	67
22 Solomon G (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	22
23 Boehlert S (R)	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	36	78
24 McHugh J (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	33
25 Walsh J (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	67
26 Hinchey M (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	89
27 Paxon B (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	11
28 Slaughter L (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
29 LaFalce J (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
30 Quinn J (R)	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	?	–	?	27	78
31 Houghton A (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	27	67

HOUSE KEY:

1 = Balanced budget amendment
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9 = TV v-chip
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% '95 = Number of times voted for CDF position, divided by the total number of votes (absences during voting are computed as negative votes)

% '94 = 1994 Voting Rating

Y = CDF supported the measure
N = CDF opposed the measure
+ = Favorable
– = Unfavorable
? = Not voting

* = Not a member in 1994
X = Not a member at the time of vote
P = Voted *present*
C = Voted *present* to avoid possible conflict of interest
D = Democrat
R = Republican
I = Independent

HOUSE

CDF Position	1 N	2 N	3 N	4 N	5 N	6 N	7 Y	8 N	9 Y	10 N	11 N	% '95	% '94
NORTH CAROLINA													
1 Clayton E (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
2 Funderburk D (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	9	*
3 Jones W (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	9	*
4 Heineman F (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	18	*
5 Burr R (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	*
6 Coble H (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	11
7 Rose C (D)	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	82	89
8 Hefner W (D)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	91	78
9 Myrick S (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	*
10 Ballenger C (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	11
11 Taylor C (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	22
12 Watt M (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	89
NORTH DAKOTA													
Pomeroy E (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
OHIO													
1 Chabot S (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	*
2 Portman R (R)	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	18	33
3 Hall T (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
4 Oxley M (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	22
5 Gillmor P (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	18	56
6 Cremeans F (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	*
7 Hobson D (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	56
8 Boehner J (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	22
9 Kaptur M (D)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	91	89
10 Hoke M (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	22
11 Stokes L (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	89
12 Kasich J (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	67
13 Brown S (D)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	91	89
14 Sawyer T (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
15 Pryce D (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	67
16 Regula R (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	44
17 Traficant J (D)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	64	100
18 Ney B (R)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	18	*
19 LaTourette S (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	18	*
OKLAHOMA													
1 Largent S (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	*
2 Coburn T (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	*
3 Brewster B (D)	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	?	–	36	67
4 Watts J (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	*
5 Istook E (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	11
6 Lucas F (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	20
OREGON													
1 Furse E (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
2 Cooley W (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	*
3 Wyden R (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
4 DeFazio P (D)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	91	67
5 Bunn J (R)	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	36	*

HOUSE

CDF Position	1 N	2 N	3 N	4 N	5 N	6 N	7 Y	8 N	9 Y	10 N	11 N	% '95	% '94
PENNSYLVANIA													
1 Foglietta T (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
2 Fattah C (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	*
3 Borski R (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
4 Klink R (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	78
5 Clinger W (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	18	44
6 Holden T (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	–	82	89
7 Weldon C (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	56
8 Greenwood J (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	56
9 Shuster B (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	18	11
10 McDade J (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	?	–	+	–	–	18	44
11 Kanjorski P (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	78
12 Murtha J (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	67
13 Fox J (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	*
14 Coyne W (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
15 McHale P (D)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	91	89
16 Walker R (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	0
17 Gekas G (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	22
18 Doyle M (D)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	91	*
19 Goodling B (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	44
20 Mascara F (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	*
21 English P (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	?	0	*
RHODE ISLAND													
1 Kennedy P (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	91	*
2 Reed J (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
SOUTH CAROLINA													
1 Sanford M (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	*
2 Spence F (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	33
3 Graham L (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	*
4 Inglis B (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	11
5 Spratt J (D)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	91	78
6 Clyburn J (D)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	91	89
SOUTH DAKOTA													
Johnson T (D)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	91	78
TENNESSEE													
1 Quillen J (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	?	–	?	0	44
2 Duncan J (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	9	22
3 Wamp Z (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	*
4 Hilleary V (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	*
5 Clement B (D)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	91	67
6 Gordon B (D)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	82	56
7 Bryant E (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	*
8 Tanner J (D)	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	55	56
9 Ford H (D)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	91	89
TEXAS													
1 Chapman J (D)	–	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	73	67
2 Wilson C (D)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	91	56
3 Johnson S (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	0
4 Hall R (D)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	18	56

1995 Voting Record

HOUSE

CDF Position	1 N	2 N	3 N	4 N	5 N	6 N	7 Y	8 N	9 Y	10 N	11 N	% '95	% '94
5 Bryant J (D)	–	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	73	89
6 Barton J (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	22
7 Archer B (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	0
8 Fields J (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	11
9 Stockman S (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	*
10 Doggett L (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	*
11 Edwards C (D)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	82	89
12 Geren P (D)	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	27	56
13 Thornberry W (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	*
14 Laughlin G (R)	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	18	67
15 de la Garza E (D)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	91	67
16 Coleman R (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
17 Stenholm C (D)	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	73	56
18 Jackson-Lee S (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	*
19 Combest L (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	11
20 Gonzalez H (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
21 Smith L (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	44
22 DeLay T (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	0
23 Bonilla H (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	56
24 Frost M (D)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	91	78
25 Bentsen K (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	*
26 Armey D (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	0
27 Ortiz S (D)	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	?	+	+	73	67
28 Tejeda F (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	91	78
29 Green G (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	67
30 Johnson E (D)	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	91	100
UTAH													
1 Hansen J (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	22
2 Waldholtz E (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	*
3 Orton B (D)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	91	56
VERMONT													
Sanders B (I)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
VIRGINIA													
1 Bateman H (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	?	–	?	–	–	9	44
2 Pickett O (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	91	67
3 Scott R (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	89

HOUSE

CDF Position	1 N	2 N	3 N	4 N	5 N	6 N	7 Y	8 N	9 Y	10 N	11 N	% '95	% '94
4 Sisisky N (D)	–	+	+	+	?	+	–	+	+	+	+	82	67
5 Payne L (D)	–	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	91	67
6 Goodlatte R (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	9	22
7 Bliley T (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	44
8 Moran J (D)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	91	89
9 Boucher R (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	78
10 Wolf F (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	18	44
11 Davis T (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	18	*
WASHINGTON													
1 White R (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	*
2 Metcalf J (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	*
3 Smith L (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	*
4 Hastings R (R)	–	–	–	?	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	*
5 Nethercutt G (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	*
6 Dicks N (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
7 McDermott J (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	91	100
8 Dunn J (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	22
9 Tate R (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	*
WEST VIRGINIA													
1 Mollohan A (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	78
2 Wise B (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	78
3 Rahall N (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	78
WISCONSIN													
1 Neumann M (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	?	–	0	*
2 Klug S (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	67
3 Gunderson S (R)	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	18	44
4 Kleczka G (D)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	82	100
5 Barrett T (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	100
6 Petri T (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	9	33
7 Obey D (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	78
8 Roth T (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	9	33
9 Sensenbrenner F (R)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	9	0
WYOMING													
Cubin B (R)	–	–	?	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	20	*

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P = Voted *present*
C = Voted *present* to avoid possible conflict of interest
D = Democrat
R = Republican
I = Independent

There is only one child in the world and the child's name is All Children....This child speaks our name.

—Carl Sandburg

STAND FOR CHILDREN

Stand For Children at the Lincoln Memorial on June 1
Stand Together with Americans Who Care About Children
Come to Washington and Make History

How can I get involved?

- Join us on June 1 at the Lincoln Memorial and take a Stand For Children.
- Start a pledge drive and get people in your community to take a Stand For Children.
- Call our national office and find out who is organizing buses in your area.
- Organize a Children's Action Team to bring folks to Washington, D.C.

To join in, call us at 1-800-233-1200
E-mail: standinfo@mailback.com
and ask for our action guide and organizer's brochure

Stand For Children
1832 Connecticut Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20009

Short Takes

Poverty alone drives up infant mortality

The infant mortality rate for babies born to poor women is 60 percent higher than for babies of nonpoor women, according to a recent study by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC). For babies older than four weeks, the risk associated with poverty is even greater: they are twice as likely as nonpoor babies to die before their first birthday.

The CDC estimated an overall infant mortality rate of 10 deaths per 1,000 live births in 1988, using the National Maternal and Infant Health Survey. However, the rate was 8.3 for infants born to nonpoor women, compared with 13.5 for babies of poor women. The effect of poverty on infant mortality was strongest for infants born to women who otherwise were not at high risk of having a baby die within the first year after birth—for example, married women, women age 18 and older, and White women.

Strategies to reduce the extra risk for poor babies, say the researchers, include making health care more available in underserved areas, removing the financial barriers to health care, and educating parents about child safety.

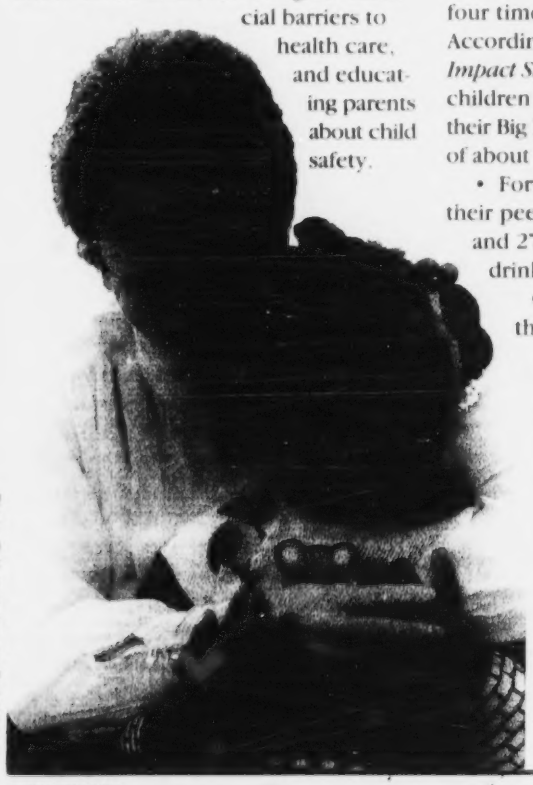


Photo © Human Issues Collaborative

For more information, contact the CDC, at 404-639-3311.

Mentoring has positive results

Youngsters who meet regularly with a Big Brother or Big Sister are less involved with drugs and alcohol, do better in school, and have better relationships with their parents and peers than do other similar youths, according to a recent study.

"These dramatic findings are very good news, particularly at a time when many people contend that nothing works in reaching teenagers," says Gary Walker, president of Public/Private Ventures (P/PV), the Philadelphia-based nonprofit research organization that conducted the research. "This program suggests a strategy the country can build on to make a difference," he notes, "especially for youth in single-parent families."

Big Brothers/Big Sisters of America, with 504 member agencies nationwide, matches children and teenagers with adult volunteers who agree to meet with their "Little Brother or Sister" two to four times a month for at least a year. According to *Making a Difference: An Impact Study of Big Brothers/Big Sisters*, children who regularly spent time with their Big Brother or Sister over the course of about a year were:

- Forty-six percent less likely than their peers to start using illegal drugs, and 27 percent less likely to start drinking.
- Fifty-two percent less likely than their peers to skip a day of school, and 37 percent less likely to skip a class.
- More trusting of their parents or guardians and less likely to lie to them.
- More likely to feel supported by their peers and friends.

The study of 959 10- to 16-year-olds who applied to the BB/BS programs in 1992 and 1993 is the first to use scientifically rigorous research methods to assess the impact of a major mentoring program on youths.

A copy of the report is available for $7.50 (pre-payment required) from P/PV, 215-557-4400.

Violent crimes against and by youths are increasing

Young people ages 12 to 17 are more likely to be *victims* of violent crime than are adults 25 and older, according to a recent report from the Department of Justice.

Juvenile Offenders and Victims: A National Report, by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP), also says that the number of youths younger than 18 arrested for violent crimes rose 55 percent between 1983 and 1992, from 83,400 to 129,600. If current trends continue, says the report, the number of youths arrested for violent crimes—murder, rape, robbery, and aggravated assault—will more than double by the year 2010.

The 1983-1992 increase in arrests occurred despite a 10 percent drop in the number of 16- to 17-year-olds, says the report. The projection to the year 2010, however, reflects a dramatic jump in the teenage population that will occur in the coming decade, as the children of the baby boomers reach adolescence.

"We can't let those predictions come true," says Enola Aird, acting director of the Black Community Crusade for Children, which is coordinated nationally by CDF. "We have to work together to save the lives of our children and to keep our children from lives of crime. We must create stronger networks of care, support, and safety for every child in every neighborhood. Parents and other adults must be better role models and provide more time and attention and moral guidance for children, and we must take more aggressive steps to keep guns out of the hands of children and those who would harm children."

Request a single copy of the report from OJJDP's Juvenile Justice Clearinghouse, Box 6000, Rockville, MD 20857 or call 1-800-638-8736.

Advocates celebrate successes, gear up for more hard work

President Clinton's January veto of the congressional welfare bill shows that strong, focused advocacy on behalf of children *does* make a difference, says CDF Director of Government and Community Affairs **Jay Hedlund**.

At the end of 1995, CDF joined with other child advocacy groups, religious leaders, parents, and social service and child care professionals to call attention to how children would be hurt by the congressional majority's welfare bill. CDF staff alone made more than 10,000 phone calls to child advocates and distributed more than 10,000 fliers, asking people to call, write, or e-mail President Clinton and urge him not to sign any bill that would make more children poor, hungry, sick, or at risk of abuse or neglect. In mid-December, hundreds of advocates participated in a Circle of Conscience and Candlelight Vigil at the Capitol.

In addition, says Hedlund, CDF has collected more than 60,000 postcards from individuals across the country who do not want the safety net destroyed. The cards are being delivered to the president to demonstrate the strong nationwide support for protecting children.

Advocates at the CDF–Greater Columbus Project made important progress for children in Ohio last year, according to **Susan Lewis**, who has headed the office since it opened officially last March.

"We really hit the ground running," says Lewis, who previously was executive assistant to Ohio Attorney General Lee Fisher. "Within our first three weeks, we coordinated a community-wide briefing on how the state budget and pending welfare reform legislation would affect Franklin County children." More than 130 people attended, says Lewis, to learn how they could help make a difference for local children.

Lewis and Black Community Crusade for Children (BCCC) Field Organizer **Naomi Walker** then convened members of more than 50 faith- and community-based organizations to help plan Franklin County's first-ever National Observance of Children's Sabbaths, says Lewis. Franklin County's Children's Sabbaths committee coordinated an interfaith service at St. Philip's Episcopal Church, which featured children's choirs and multi-faith scripture readings for the more than 400 attendees.

The committee also invited local leaders to participate in a Child Watch visit to the neonatal unit at Children's Hospital. (Child Watch visits allow citizens to learn about children's problems and the organizations and people who help them.) Religious and community leaders participating in the tour later signed a "community covenant," recommitting to efforts to serve poor children.

Stand For Children update

Isabelle Rodriguez Tapia has been selected as executive director of Stand For Children, the national day of commitment to children scheduled for June 1, at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C. Tapia, who has more than 10 years' experience in media and government relations, served until June 1995 as President Clinton's deputy assistant for scheduling and advance.

Tapia, CDF President **Marian Wright Edelman**, and representatives from organizations endorsing Stand For Children—numbering more than 600 in mid-February—met on February 16 to exchange ideas and "start working together to build a groundswell of support and mobilization for the event," says CDF Director of Government and Community Affairs **Jay Hedlund**.

According to Hedlund, a "children's action packet" is available for advocates who want to begin mobilizing citizens in their communities to participate in Stand For Children. The free packet includes a publicity kit, pledge cards, fact sheets, local event ideas, and suggestions for organizing transportation and raising money for travel to Washington, D.C.

To request a packet or other information, write to: Stand For Children National Headquarters, 1832 Connecticut Avenue NW, Washington, DC, 20009; or call 1-800-233-1200 or 202-234-0095; or send e-mail to standinfo@mailback.com

STAND FOR CHILDREN

Jim Koppel joins CDF as director of the Minnesota office. Most recently he was vice president for policy at the Minnesota Hospital and Healthcare Partnership, a trade association for hospitals in the St. Paul metropolitan area. Koppel has extensive experience in forming nonprofit coalitions. In 1989, he took a two-year leave from the Hospital and Healthcare Partnership to head the Minnesota Health Care Access Commission. The commission's efforts laid the groundwork for the 1992 passage of MinnesotaCare, an initiative that has expanded health insurance coverage to 95,000 Minnesotans.

Leonard Riggio, the chairman, chief executive officer, and major shareholder of Barnes & Noble, recently was elected to CDF's Board of Directors. Barnes & Noble is the parent company of Barnes & Noble Bookstores, B. Dalton Booksellers, and Doubleday Book Shops.

Media Tips

by Lynn Bowersox-Megginson, Director of Communications

How to get magazine coverage

Given the specialized nature of magazines and how far ahead editors and writers generally need to work as they develop stories, persuading a magazine to publish stories on children's issues can be a tough sell. But many magazines have large, dedicated audiences and a long shelf life, so it's worthwhile to keep trying to place stories that increase the public's understanding about how children are faring, and how each individual can help children achieve their potential.

To increase your chances of successfully pitching a story idea to a magazine editor, identify five to 10 magazines that you would like to target. First consider local and regional magazines, including the Sunday magazine supplement in your local newspaper, nearby university alumni magazines, and magazines devoted to covering your city or state. Then look at national magazines that focus on women, children, and families, such as *Child* and *Family Circle*.

Study each magazine and analyze its structure. Figure out which departments appear every month and might cover children's issues. Examine what angle the feature stories take, and think about how you can use similar angles to help your story appeal to the editor. See whether any pages are set aside for articles or commentary from readers.

If you have an idea for a particular column or feature story, by all means suggest it. But Pam Abrams, editor-in-chief of *Child*, says advocates should consider approaching editors with an anecdote, rather than a specific program or issue. "We don't profile programs," says Abrams, "but we do use anecdotes about programs all the time." For example, says Abrams, an advocate with an anecdote about a neglected child could call a magazine's senior editor or features editor and ask whether anyone is working on a story about foster care. In this way, she says, an organization and its important work may get coverage in the context of a larger story.

Magazines also appreciate receiving concrete tips or strategies for solving neighborhood and community problems. When CDF recently worked with *Child*, for example, on the topic of the toll of gun violence on children, we agreed to share our new common-sense guide for parents, *30 Simple Things Parents Can Do to Keep Children Safe From Violence*. These tips were included in the March 1996 issue, as a sidebar to an in-depth story on children and gun violence. According to Abrams, the practicality and accessibility of this information was key in making the story informative and useful to *Child*'s readers.

Abrams also suggests that advocates pick up the phone and offer their expertise on current national issues. For example, when domestic violence came to the forefront early last year during the O.J. Simpson trial, many social workers, therapists, and advocates reported that a record number of women sought professional help, not only for themselves, but for their children. *Child* magazine ran a story in the November 1995 issue about the "positives coming out of Nicole Simpson's tragedy," quoting many different professionals.

Magazines that accept reader-initiated opinion pieces are always looking for fresh material. If you know a parent in your community who has successfully overcome great personal obstacles, he or she might be willing, with your help, to write an article about his or her experience. Or you may know a teacher or service provider who would share his or her insights about working daily with children in poverty. There are plenty of success stories out there that can help the public understand what kinds of assistance and encouragement are most helpful to struggling children and families.

Remember to write concisely when you send any information to a magazine. Editors are running shorter stories than in the past. And keep in mind that most monthly magazines work three to six months in advance of their publication dates, so your information should not be too time-dependent.

If your first idea doesn't work, try again; remember, your information can inspire readers to take positive action for children.

30 Simple Things Parents Can Do To Keep Children Safe from Violence is available for $3 from CDF Publications.

Advocates On-Line

Be an electronic activist

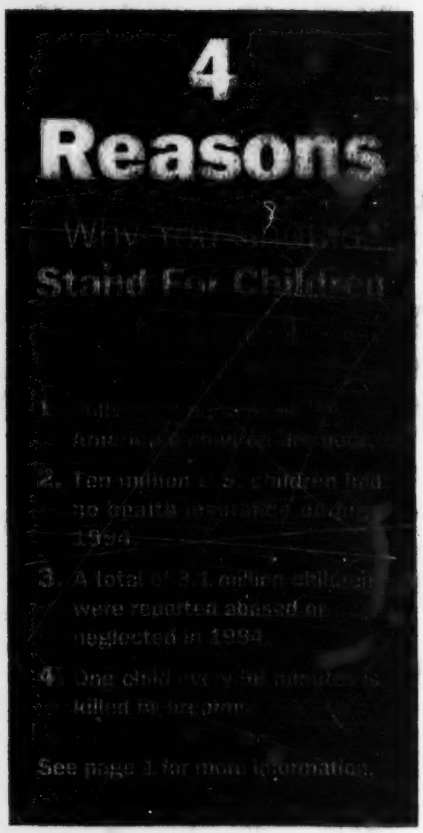
The Electronic Activist, an Institute for First Amendment Studies site on the Web, provides state-by-state compilations of forms for sending e-mail to members of Congress and media outlets, as well as links to state government home pages. To get in touch with the decision-makers in your state, give this site a try:

http:\\www.berkshire.net/%7Eifas/activist/index.html

For would-be activists who don't know the names of their congressional representatives, two Web sites track that information by zip code. The Zipper is the site of Stardot Consulting; Pathfinder is at *Time* magazine's Web site. You'll find these two resources at:

http://www.stardot.com/zipper

http://www.pathfinder.com/cgi-bin/congress-votes



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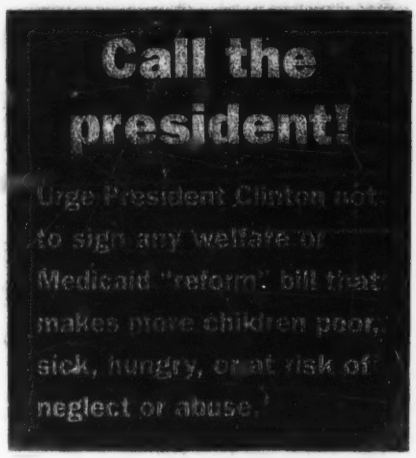
Key steps for children

Action	Status (as of February 20, 1996)
Entitlements. Preserve guaranteed funding for key child-survival programs, including AFDC, food stamps, foster care and adoption assistance, child nutrition, Medicaid, SSI, and child-support enforcement.	The welfare bill, H.R. 4, eliminates many safety net protections. The conference version guts the AFDC and Medicaid entitlements, cuts into the SSI protections for disabled children, and drastically cuts food stamps and child nutrition programs. The entitlement to child protection services is only partially protected. The House and Senate passed the H.R. 4 conference bill late in December. On January 9th, the president vetoed the bill. In addition, the H.R. 4 provisions were included in the budget reconciliation bill, H.R. 2491, which the president also vetoed. There are ongoing discussions attempting to craft both welfare and Medicaid changes.
Welfare reform. Expand job opportunities, offer child care help, improve child support, and reject attempts to repeal or limit aid to families with no other means of subsistence.	See "Entitlements," above.
Head Start and child care. Expand funding for Head Start and for child-care programs that enable low-income working families to stay off welfare and that help welfare parents get jobs.	Inadequate funding for child care is included in the welfare reform bill, H.R. 4, discussed above, which was also part of the budget reconciliation bill, H.R. 2491. Child care standards would be weakened.
Health care reform. Preserve expanded Medicaid coverage for poor and near-poor children and extend affordable health care coverage to all children and pregnant women.	The conference version of the budget reconciliation bill, H.R. 2491, passed by both houses in mid-November, eliminates the Medicaid entitlement to health care for poor people, wipes out the EPSDT program for children, and repeals the Vaccines for Children program. The president vetoed this bill.
Violence prevention. Fully fund key crime-bill prevention components, including Ounce of Prevention, Community Schools, and Family and Community Endeavor Schools (FACES).	S. 3 and H.R. 728 would *repeal* prevention programs. H.R. 728 passed February 14, 1995. Senate action may occur early in 1996.


Call the president!
Urge President Clinton not to sign any welfare or Medicaid "reform" bill that makes more children poor, sick, hungry, or at risk of neglect or abuse.

CDF's legislative hotline tape:
202-662-3678

CDF's home page:
http://www.tmn.com/cdf/index.html

Capitol Hill switchboard:
202-224-3121

U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

U.S. Senate
Washington, DC 20510

White House comment line:
202-456-1111
E-mail: president@whitehouse.gov

President Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

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Children's Defense Fund

CDF Reports

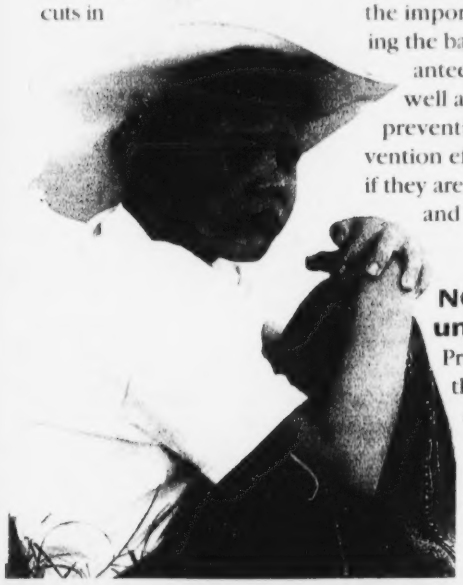
Marian Wright Edelman, President

March 1996
Volume 17, Number 4

Congress dishes out another hard year for children

On Capitol Hill this year, the outlook for children and families is as troubling as it was in 1995, says CDF Legislative Affairs Director Eileen Sweeney. Much of the major federal legislation expected to be taken up this year will be a replay of last year's disastrous majority agenda, including elimination of the federal safety net for low-income families and children, and deep cuts in discretionary programs serving these same Americans.

To continue to protect low-income children and families from these and other equally destructive pieces of legislation, children's advocates will need to stay vigilant, says Sweeney. "Continue to let President Clinton know you support his vow not to sign legislation that will harm children," she says. "And keep communicating with members of Congress about the importance of maintaining the basic safety net guarantees for children, as well as investing in the prevention and early intervention efforts children need if they are to grow up healthy and productive."



NGA proposals unacceptable

Proposals to eliminate the federal income, child nutrition, and child protection safety net for children and families and to severely cut back guaranteed health coverage for children under Medicaid may soon be back on the House and Senate floors. At press time, negotiations were continuing between Congress, the Clinton administration, and the governors, based on proposals of the National Governors' Association (NGA). On balance, says CDF Director of Programs and Policy Cliff Johnson, the NGA plans are as bad for children as the congressional welfare and Medicaid legislation that President Clinton vetoed. And in some aspects of welfare policy, they are even worse.

Moreover, says Johnson, the collapse of a broader effort to balance the budget means that the harsh spending cuts contained in the governors' welfare and Medicaid proposals are more unfair than ever. Without the adoption of other budget-cutting measures, low-income children and families are virtually the only targets of the fed-

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Another hard year for children

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eral budget-cutting ax, while affluent individuals and corporations are asked to sacrifice nothing.

The governors' welfare proposal harms children by, among other things, ending the guarantee that needy families will receive at least minimal cash assistance, making deep cuts in food stamp benefits, eliminating health and safety protections in child care, and allowing states to eliminate the guarantee of foster care and adoption assistance for abused and neglected children, as well as the guarantee of food stamps for poor families.

"Advocates for children are totally outgunned in our statehouses by richer, more visible, and more powerful interests."

The NGA's Medicaid plan also is deeply flawed, says Johnson. It eliminates guaranteed health coverage for all poor children older than 12; the number of children denied this coverage would rise from 2.8 million currently to 4.9 million in the year 2002 (see page 12). The governors seek sweeping authority to define both who is eligible and what services will be provided. Their plan would repeal all current guarantees that children who do get Medicaid coverage will receive the full range of medically necessary health care.

A new report by the State Legislative Leaders Foundation, which provides policy information and leadership training to state legislative leaders, sheds light on why children's well-being is likely to suffer if the federal guarantees are lost and states are able to make their own rules, says Johnson. "The report shows that advocates for children are totally outgunned in our statehouses by richer, more visible, and more powerful interests," says Johnson. "Governors and legislators respond to these powerful interests—not because they don't care about children, but because these groups maintain extensive presences in state capitals and help fill campaign coffers."

Other threats to children

"We also need to be concerned," adds Sweeney, "that Congress will cut even more this year from appropriations for other critical investments in children." Education programs for disadvantaged children, job training, summer jobs for low-income young people, Head Start, child care, and the WIC nutrition program are among the programs at risk.

The Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act (JJDPA) also is up for reauthorization this year. Many experts already have testified in support of strong crime prevention and intervention efforts, as well as the law's requirements that the states must separate juvenile offenders from adult inmates, keep noncriminal juvenile offenders out of secure juvenile facilities, and address the disproportionate confinement of minority youths. However, says Sweeney, advocates fear that the congressional majority will try to eliminate these requirements, or add others that would compel states to transfer juveniles over a certain age to adult courts if they are charged with violent crimes. "We must work to hold on to key child protections in JJDPA and refocus Congress on the important role of crime prevention programs. Not only has this Congress failed to fund the youth prevention programs included in the 1994 crime act, it has tried to repeal them," says Sweeney. And in mid-March, the House voted to repeal the 1994 assault weapons ban, although the Senate is not expected to follow suit.

Meanwhile, efforts to silence nonprofit organizations representing the poor and powerless continue, as Rep. Ernest Istook Jr. (R-OK) and others seek to limit nonprofits' ability to lobby government if they accept federal funds. (Nonprofits have long been prohibited from using federal funds to lobby, but they can use other resources to do so.) No such restrictions would be placed on private businesses or groups that have federal contracts or receive other government funds.

Glimmers of hope

The anti-child, anti-family agenda that the congressional majority is expected to continue pursuing this year may not be the whole legislative story for 1996, says Sweeney. For example, a limited health insurance reform proposal is likely to be voted on in the Senate this spring. The bill would prevent health insurance companies from denying coverage for pre-existing conditions to people who have had continuous insurance coverage. "It represents a modest but important gain for middle-class families that have insurance," says CDF Health Director Stan Dorn. "It won't be much help to lower-income families that don't already have health coverage. We will have to do much more to solve the growing problems of children without health insurance."

Child support

Either as part of welfare legislation or as a separate bill, new child support legislation also may come out of Congress this year, says CDF Senior Staff Attorney Nancy Ebb. Both the congressional welfare bill vetoed by the president and the NGA welfare proposal would require states to beef up efforts to enforce child support, improve procedures for establishing paternity, and speed up legal procedures in child support cases. "There is broad bipartisan support for these provisions," says Ebb, "and on the whole, they are strong, positive steps in a welfare bill that otherwise would cause harm to poor children and families."

"We must work to hold on to key child protections in the juvenile justice act and refocus Congress on the important role of crime prevention programs."

In mid-March, it appeared as though there might be an early Senate vote on a bill to increase the minimum wage from the current $4.25 an hour to $5.15 an hour over two years. The minimum wage has dropped to its lowest level in 40 years, and President Clinton included a proposal to raise it in his 1997 budget. In 1989, when Congress last raised the minimum wage, the measure received

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CDF Reports

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Director of Publications: Donna M. Jablonski

Senior Editor: Belva Finlay

Managing Editor: Marge duMond

Writers: Sydney Stephenson, Lisa Rhodes

Production Manager: Janis Johnston

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Children's Defense Fund

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Director of Development: Donald L. Hense

Director of Finance and Administration: George R. Lasnier

Director of Communications: Lynn Bowersox-Megginson

CDF Ohio, 52 East Lynn Street, Suite 400, Columbus, OH 43215, Mark Real, Director

CDF Greater Cincinnati, 256 Erkenbrecher Avenue, Cincinnati, OH 45229, Eileen Reed, Advocate

CDF Greater Columbus, 52 East Lynn Street, Suite 400, Columbus, OH 43215, Susan Lewis, Director

CDF Minnesota, 550 Rice Street, Suite 106, St. Paul, MN 55103, Jim Koppel, Director

CDF Marlboro County, 117 Cheraw Street, Bennettsville, SC 29512, Marian David, Director

CDF District of Columbia, 25 E Street NW, Washington, DC 20001, Darold Johnson, Acting Director

CDF New York, 200 Church Street, 2nd Floor, New York, NY 10013, Donna Lawrence, Director

CDF on the Internet: http://www.tmn.com/cdf/index.html

A Voice for Children

by Marian Wright Edelman

To people of faith: come stand with us

Many *CDF Reports* readers have helped mobilize their religious congregations and community groups to celebrate the annual National Observance of Children's Sabbaths. The Children's Sabbaths, in special worship services, education programs, and related activities, have inspired individual congregations and whole communities to do more to nurture and protect the children God has entrusted to us.

But people of faith can and must do more to inspire our morally drifting nation to urgent action for children. That is what Stand For Children on June 1 at the Lincoln Memorial is all about. Stand For Children will be a national day of commitment to children, a celebration, and a day of community renewal, when we will stand together as Americans from every race, region, income level, age, and faith. On June 1 we will transcend our differences and affirm what unites us as a people: a loving desire to raise moral, healthy, and educated children; a sense of fairness; a belief that in the richest and most powerful nation on earth no child should be left behind.

Please help us mobilize our religious communities to Stand For Children on June 1.

More than 130 religious organizations, including the National Council of Churches of Christ, the Congress of National Black Churches, the National Catholic Education Association, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and the IQRA International Education Foundation, have endorsed this nonpartisan, nonpolitical event. Religious social service agencies and mission institutions are mobilizing the families they serve to participate, while many religious congregations in the Washington, D.C., area are planning to hold prayer breakfasts on the morning of Stand For Children, before going to the Lincoln Memorial.

People of faith can and must do more to inspire our morally drifting nation to urgent action for children.

The formal Stand For Children program will begin with an inspiring interfaith service to remind us of the need to heal our communities and nation morally and spiritually and fulfill our responsibilities toward our children. Since Stand For Children is taking place on a Saturday, the program will start at 1 p.m., to accommodate Jewish Sabbath observances. We also are taking into consideration the spiritual needs of Muslims.

There are countless ways you can help mobilize people of faith in your community to come Stand For Children. You can:

- Urge your own and other religious organizations to endorse Stand For Children; put up posters and distribute fliers and brochures at conferences and meetings (see page 7 for information on ordering materials).
- Place information about Stand For Children in congregational bulletins and newsletters, and ask the clergy to mention it often. I hope every congregation will get a bus and fill it with people from the congregation and community.
- Pray that June 1 is a transforming day of renewal and commitment to action for children.

It is within our power to make Stand For Children a turning point for our nation's children. With your help we will challenge all Americans, in communities across America, to work harder to improve our children's health, safety, school readiness, and quality of life.

We have a huge task ahead of us and a short time to accomplish it. But we must build a great day on June 1, because our children are depending on us.

QOP: Helping youngsters succeed

When LeRoy Griffin entered Philadelphia's Benjamin Franklin High School last fall, the 15-year-old was reading at about a fifth-grade level. But thanks to a new and innovative program combining education, youth development, community service, and summer jobs, Griffin's math and reading skills are improving, he's more confident, and his attitude is positive. "I'm motivated to do more," says Griffin, a Black youngster who grew up in a low-income family and now lives with his aunt. "I feel like I'm headed in the right direction."

Griffin, who hopes to attend college and become an architect, is one of a total of 50 Philadelphia students at two high schools participating in the Quantum Opportunity Program (QOP). QOP was begun as a pilot in five cities in 1989 by the nonprofit Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America (OICA), to help disadvantaged youths rewrite their futures. In addition to Philadelphia, QOP is currently running in Cleveland, Memphis, Fort Worth, Houston, and Yakima, Washington.

All QOP participants are students who had entered ninth grade with low academic standing at schools with high dropout rates; they were chosen *randomly* by computer and persuaded to participate in QOP from ninth grade through high school graduation. All of those chosen in Philadelphia were Black.

Education and service

Each QOP participant is assigned to a caring adult mentor who works with a participating community-based organization. In Philadelphia, three full-time counselors split their days between checking up on students' progress in the classroom and providing individualized services at the OICA center.

In addition to attending high school, QOP participants receive computer instruction and extensive tutoring in English, math, social studies, and the sciences. Participants also receive counseling and citizenship training and are required to perform community service, such as working with the homeless or visiting senior citizens. As part of the cultural component, students are encouraged to read the *Great Books* series.

While some programs operate entirely after school, organizers in Philadelphia are negotiating with the high schools to schedule time for activities during the school day. For each hour students participate in QOP activities, they earn a stipend of $1.25. An equal amount, to be used for college or training, is invested for them in an interest-bearing bank account.

Tenacious mentors

QOP's success has been attributed in large part to the talents and tenacity of the staff involved. Mentors are asked to do everything possible to keep students in the program, including motivating them to excel, tracking their whereabouts and activities, worrying about their health and fitness, making home visits, and chaperoning cultural events.

While the program employs a no-nonsense approach, QOP participants know from the start that nothing they do will get them expelled from the program. Even in the face of pregnancy, delinquency, cutting school, failing in school, or dropping out, mentors encourage, cajole, and coax participants back on track. For example, says Griffin's counselor Ernest Merriweather Jr., a former middle school teacher, "LeRoy came to us with a lot of problems and a negative attitude. I just keep talking to him and telling him that he can achieve anything he puts his mind to. He knows where his skills are weak and he's trying to better himself."

Study shows positive results

A 1994 Brandeis University study compared students who had participated in the original QOP pilot programs with a similar group of randomly selected youths who did not participate. According to the study, teens participating in QOP were significantly less likely to become teen parents, less likely to drop out of high school, more likely to be high school graduates, and more likely to go on to postsecondary schools. QOP participants also were more likely to be involved in community service and more likely to be hopeful about the future.

The average *four-year* cost of the program was $10,600 for each student. The study showed that with increased tax revenues (when program graduates are gainfully employed) and reduced welfare and crime costs, taxpayers save $1.55 for each dollar invested in QOP.

The Ford Foundation is funding the QOP sites in Philadelphia and Yakima, as well as paying for technical assistance for all sites. The U.S. Department of Labor is funding the other sites.

"Education is key," notes Merriweather. "I hope the students finish the program, and that we can make them better, more well-rounded people."

Another hard year for children

(Continued from page 2)

strong bipartisan support in both houses. This year, the bill could find considerable support in the Senate, says CDF Family Income Director Deborah Weinstein, but the chances of its coming to a vote in the House are slim.

Also coming up

In an election-year effort to deliver on more of its agenda, the majority in Congress may once again attempt to pass a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution. "Such a rigid approach to balancing the budget, especially given this Congress' stated intention not to cut Social Security or defense spending, and to cut taxes for wealthy Americans, would have a tragically harsh effect on poor children and families," says Johnson.

"The drive by congressional leaders to pass a large tax cut for well-to-do Americans also could find new life in the months before the election," Johnson says, "particularly given that President Clinton himself has called for a $100 billion tax cut that the nation neither needs nor can afford."

Special Report

Stand For Children

A new spirit of caring

Joni Rabinowitz is already meeting regularly with Pittsburgh leaders to mobilize her community for Stand For Children Day, slated for June 1 at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C. Paul Stewart of Albany, New York, has faxed fliers about the event to community action organizations in his city, and already has filled one bus with individuals and families who want to show their commitment to children. And Carol Tice of Ann Arbor, Michigan, has persuaded her entire family to fly to Washington, D.C., to participate in the historic Stand For Children.

All over the country, children's advocates, parents, grandparents, educators, students, professionals, religious leaders, and community organizers are coming together and working hard to make preparations for Stand For Children. Many say the event has struck a chord in their communities, not only among those who advocate for children regularly but also among a broad cross section of individuals who are hungry for ideas about the steps *they* can take to make the world a better place.

"People are saying that it's about time," says Rabinowitz, who is co-director of Just Harvest, an antihunger lobbying organization. "I'm very worried about all the hate-mongering going on in this country. It is essential that decent people also have the opportunity to say *their* piece." Rabinowitz says the timing for Stand For Children could not be better. "By participating in this event," she says, "we can make the important statement that we don't agree with what has been happening in Washington."

Stewart, the director of Albany County Opportunity, a community action program for low-income families, agrees. "This is not a partisan event," says Stewart, "but there is a statement being made by those who are coming to Washington and saying, 'We are here to draw a line in the sand of *doing no harm to children*.'

"An event inclusive of men, women, and children is a statement that very badly needs to be made," says Stewart. "We need to say to our leaders that supporting children and families isn't done just by enacting social legislation, but needs the backbone and teeth of dollars and cents. It is time for our leaders to put their money where their mouth is and stop paying lip service to the needs of children and families."

The focus for June 1, says Stand For Children Deputy Director Jay Hedlund, will be on practical steps that every American can take to ensure that no child is left behind. "Throughout the coming months, on June 1, and beyond, we will encourage everyone to commit to taking specific, positive, person-

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Stand For Children

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al steps to improve the quality of life of children in their community," says Hedlund. "This may mean walking a child in the neighborhood to school, reading more to your child, mentoring a child, or it may mean getting your religious congregation, community group, or organization to do more for children.

"It also may mean voting with children in mind and insisting that every cultural, business, and political leader meet the same high standard of supporting children," says Hedlund. "It is within our power, as people who care about children, to change the way our country and our local communities treat our children."

Response is overwhelming

By mid-March, more than 1,300 national, state, and local groups had endorsed Stand For Children. Among those joining CDF in endorsing the event are such diverse groups as the American Association of Retired Persons, the Girl Scouts of the USA, the American Academy of Pediatrics, the National Association for the Education of Young Children, and the AFL-CIO.

"We have a solemn and sacred responsibility to show the absolute disconnect between the rhetoric in Washington and the reality of what's happening all across the country."

—Kweisi Mfume, president and CEO, NAACP

"The response has been overwhelming," says Stand For Children Executive Director Isabelle Rodriguez Tapia (see page 8). "Local, state, and national organizations are contacting us daily to add their names to the list of endorsers."

Since February 1, when Stand For Children was officially announced at a national press conference, many organizations, including Bread for the World and the Grey Panthers, have rescheduled their Washington, D.C.–based conferences and meetings for late May and early June, so that their members can participate in it. A kick-off meeting of endorsing organizations in Washington, D.C., February 16, drew 150 enthusiastic representatives of groups working on Stand For Children.

Stand For Children has been incorporated as a nonprofit organization, separate from CDF, with its own staff. Some CDF staff have been detailed to the Stand For Children office until June 1. Many "talented young people, full of energy," have come forward to volunteer their time and services, notes Tapia. And the many in-kind contributions from individuals and organizations, she says, "have been key in helping us get Stand For Children up and running."

Although the program for June 1 had not been finalized at press time, Tapia says various child- and family-oriented activities are planned throughout the day, to clearly communicate the message of a renewed commitment to children. The day will include an interfaith worship service, and singing by various children's choirs. It will not be a partisan day, and no politicians or candidates are invited to speak, says Tapia, although politicians who want to attend as parents are welcome to do so.

"Supporting children and making it easier rather than harder for families struggling to raise them is not a partisan issue," says Tapia. "Americans agree that every child should be given the chance to realize his or her potential, and that no child should grow up sick, hungry, unsafe, or uneducated. We are trying to build a new spirit of caring for children that transcends party labels or racial, regional, or economic boundaries."

How to organize

In early February, when Michigan schoolteacher Carol Tice heard about Stand For Children, she began calling local organizations that have an interest in children. Her goal—to persuade one of the groups to be the primary center for all Stand For Children mobilization activities in Ann Arbor—was realized when the Interfaith Council for Peace and Justice stepped up to the plate. "It is critical for advocates to look for a central organization that everyone respects and that is above turf issues," says Tice. "It gives us a chance in the community to rise above politics, and it lays the groundwork for the future of the movement."

"This country must bring children back into the center of society, to cherish and to nurture them, and to provide for them, so that they can indeed succeed like all of us have, and share the blessings of this wonderful country."

—Anne Dyson, pediatrician, Schenectady, New York

Tice currently is asking businesses to help fund deposits on rental buses and vans (see page 10). Her daughter and son-in-law, Karin and James Szocik, and grandchildren Katherine, 4, and Michael, 18 months, "agreed immediately," says Tice, to fly with her to Washington for the June 1 event. "I was exposed very young to the needs of other children," says Tice. "It will give me great joy to pass such an experience on to my grandchildren."

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"We want to share with others what America shared with our families, who came here as immigrants."

—Len Riggio, chair of Barnes & Noble, and Louise Riggio, activist and volunteer

Questions? Call your Stand For Children contact

For help in mobilizing your community to attend Stand For Children, call the organizer listed below for your state, at 1-800-233-1200:

Alabama	Lisa Simms
Alaska	Colleen Montoya
Arkansas	Aaron Ward
Arizona	Colleen Montoya
California	Kate Frucher
Colorado	Colleen Montoya
Connecticut	Colleen Montoya
District of Columbia	Aaron Ward
Delaware	Marian Urquilla
Florida	Marian Urquilla
Georgia	Dan Ezrow
Hawaii	Aaron Ward
Iowa	Tim Briceland-Betts
Idaho	Dan Ezrow
Illinois	John Aravosis
Indiana	Tim Briceland-Betts
Kansas	Liz Dumbaugh
Kentucky	Liz Dumbaugh
Louisiana	Lisa Simms
Massachusetts	Kate Frucher
Maryland	Marian Urquilla
Maine	John Aravosis
Michigan	Tim Briceland-Betts
Minnesota	John Aravosis
Missouri	Liz Dumbaugh
Mississippi	Lisa Simms
Montana	Dan Ezrow
North Carolina	Lisa Simms
North Dakota	John Aravosis
Nebraska	Tim Briceland-Betts
New Hampshire	John Aravosis
New Jersey	Liz Dumbaugh
New Mexico	Marian Urquilla
Nevada	Aaron Ward
New York (city)	Debbie Pucci*
New York (state)	Liz Dumbaugh
Ohio	Tim Briceland-Betts
Oklahoma	Aaron Ward
Oregon	Dan Ezrow
Pennsylvania (east)	Marian Urquilla
Pennsylvania (west)	Lisa Simms
Rhode Island	Kate Frucher
South Carolina	Dan Ezrow
South Dakota	John Aravosis
Tennessee	Dan Ezrow
Texas	Liz Dumbaugh
Utah	Colleen Montoya
Virginia	Kate Frucher
Vermont	John Aravosis
Washington	Dan Ezrow
Wisconsin	John Aravosis
West Virginia	Lisa Simms
Wyoming	Dan Ezrow

*Contact Debbie Pucci at 330 West 42nd Street, 33rd floor, New York, NY 10036, 212-631-4520.

"We as children need a healthy, productive environment. In order for us to remain No. 1 in America, you have to create a positive environment for children, because they are the future."

—*Tiffany Pagett, 11th grader, Benjamin Banneker Senior High School, Washington, D.C., and Senior Girl Scout, Girl Scouts of the USA*

Stand For Children

(Continued from page 6)

Paul Stewart heard about Stand For Children at a Siena College lecture in Albany and called the next day to find out how he could help. First, he asked the community action organization he directs to endorse Stand For Children. Next, Stewart asked a staff member to create a simple flier, which he faxed to the directors of other community action organizations in Albany.

Based on the response to his initial fax, Stewart says he expects to fill at least one bus with families interested in coming to Washington, D.C., for Stand For Children.

Katherine O'Donnell, the chair of the department of sociology and director of the women's studies program at Hartwick College in Oneonta, New York, also has begun organizing in her community, making phone calls to friends, colleagues, and service providers. "It's important to use the contacts that you already have," says O'Donnell. "In a rural area or small town especially, people know people, and you have an advantage because you are less anonymous."

Rabinowitz agrees. "Get on the phone and start talking," she says. There are a lot of silent people out there, who really care. It's important that we get to them."

For more information about organizing in your community, or for a free "Children's Action Packet," write Stand For Children, 1832 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20009; or call 1-800-233-1200, or e-mail standinfo@mailback.com

"If we do not address the physical, the mental, the social, the health, the nutritional needs of our children, we will guarantee that as a nation, we will produce a future of needy, infirm elderly."

—*Horace Deets, executive director, American Association of Retired Persons*

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Getting to know... Isabelle Rodriguez Tapia

Isabelle Rodriguez Tapia personifies the American Dream. As a third-generation Mexican American growing up in a large family of modest means, Tapia says, she benefited from a series of opportunities that led her from her hometown of Pomona, California, all the way to the Clinton White House, where she was, until June 1995, deputy assistant for scheduling and advance. "If it can happen to me," says Tapia, "it can happen to anyone."

Now, Tapia wants to help make the American Dream come true for as many children as possible. As the new executive director of Stand For Children —the national day of commitment to children scheduled for June 1 at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C. —Tapia is working hard toward that goal. It's her job to get Americans thinking more about children's needs and to help bring individuals and families to Washington, D.C., to commit themselves to taking positive, personal steps to improve the quality of life for children.

"My goal is to make sure June 1 is a very successful day, by getting the message out that we as Americans have a moral obligation to do better for our children. I hope Stand For Children becomes a massive movement, and that all Americans stop for a moment and say, 'Wow, these youngsters are the leaders of the new millennium.' I am committed to leaving no child behind and am looking forward to a wonderful day." On a more personal level, says Tapia, who has 14 young nieces and nephews, "I'm appealing to my family and to the community where my family lives, and asking them to stop and think about how they can become better role models."

Although Stand For Children is Tapia's first children's campaign in her 10 years in media and government relations, she is no stranger to the world of child advocacy. Last year, after speaking to a group of Latino students attending an alternative high school in El Centro, California, Tapia made an unusual offer: she would host any student who could save enough money for a trip to visit Washington, D.C.

Four students have earned the money, through car washes and bake sales. They'll be in Washington, D.C., in the midst of preparations for Stand For Children, and Tapia plans to get them involved in the planning activities. She also has arranged to introduce them to young Latino role models during their stay.

"We need to teach our children to dream of greatness," says Tapia. "Children need to know that they can dream of greatness for their future and then can work hard to make their dreams happen."

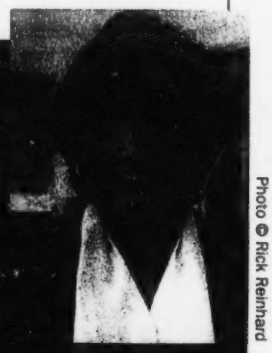

Photo © Rick Reinhard

"We need to teach our children to dream of greatness. Children need to know that they can dream of greatness for their future and then can work hard to make their dreams happen."

Photo © Rick Reinhard

Stand For Children Executive Director Isabelle Rodriguez Tapia (center) confers with Associate Director Jonah Edelman (left) and Deputy Director Jay Hedlund (right).

"We daily find...children who feel the pressures of poverty intensely, and yet have imaginations and capacities waiting to be set free."

—Sister Mary Paul Janchill, Center for Family Life, Sunset Park, New York

STAND FOR CHILDREN

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Countdown to Stand For Children

March

- Call the national Stand For Children headquarters, at 1-800-233-1200, and ask for your free Action Packet.
- When you've read the packet, call the national office of Stand For Children and speak with the organizer assigned to your state (see page 7).
- Invite local businesses, civic groups, nonprofit organizations, and religious congregations to endorse Stand For Children Day.
- Initiate transportation arrangements and put down deposits.
- Make hotel reservations or other arrangements, if your group will be staying overnight in the Washington, D.C., area. (Lisa Misol in the Stand For Children office can help with options.)
- Create a list of ways to publicize your local effort.
- Develop a budget and a fund-raising plan.
- Ask your local government to declare June 1 Stand For Children Day (you'll get a sample resolution in your Action Packet).

April

- Recruit parents, grandparents, aunts, uncles, religious leaders, advocates, providers, educators, students, and others, to travel to Washington, D.C., on June 1.
- Recruit bus captains and start filling buses and cars, trains and airplanes.
- Finalize transportation arrangements.
- Work with the media to spread the word about your local effort for Stand For Children (see page 10).
- Speak to civic groups, and at libraries, churches, temples, mosques, and schools, to build support for Stand For Children.
- Pursue your fund-raising plan.
- Create and plan child-focused events in your community to promote Stand For Children Day, such as a kite-flying contest, neighborhood carnival, story-telling festival, or dance-a-thon.

May

- Continue recruiting community supporters and endorsers.
- Keep spreading the word to friends, neighbors, relatives, and colleagues, to build support.
- Confirm who is traveling to Washington, D.C.
- Double-check your transportation arrangements for last-minute details.
- Confirm hotel and other overnight accommodations.

June 1

- **Celebrate Stand For Children Day at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C.**

Please photocopy the flier on page 11 and distribute it widely.

Promoting Stand For Children locally

Local media coverage about Stand For Children Day can help reach a new audience as well as energize individuals already committed to the event, says CDF Director of Communications Lynn Bowersox-Megginson.

"People are hungry for information about activities they can participate in, to help children and families and to rebuild a sense of community," says Bowersox-Megginson. "We hope that reading about plans for Stand For Children in the newspaper or hearing about it on the radio or television will encourage families to participate. Media coverage also helps reassure people that when they choose to Stand For Children, they won't be standing alone."

To obtain media coverage about Stand For Children, Bowersox-Megginson suggests advocates hold a press conference to announce the kick-off of local Stand For Children efforts. Hartwick College sociology professor Katherine O'Donnell will organize a Stand For Children press conference in her community—Oneonta, New York. She plans to call all the daily and weekly newspapers in her area, as well as radio and television stations, to encourage them to attend the press conference and will invite as many local children as possible. "We hope it will get people asking how they can make a difference for children at the local level," says O'Donnell. "Media coverage gives them a name and face to contact in the community."

Advocates should have a press release ready to hand out at the press conference, detailing the local activities surrounding Stand For Children. Mail the release to media that do not attend the press conference, says Bowersox-Megginson, as well as to editors of community, religious congregation, school, and company newsletters. Allow about two weeks for coverage about Stand For Children to appear, she says. After that, follow up by phone with the news editor or news director.

Advocates mobilizing for Stand For Children also can write letters to the editor or articles for community and school newsletters and for congregation bulletins. It's important, says Bowersox-Megginson, to include in all written materials the names of individuals and families in your community who are participating in Stand For Children Day, along with a quote about why everyone's commitment is vital. "Getting quotes from people in your community will give the media a local angle to use when publicizing this national event."

During the next month, advocates also should call radio talk shows to tell listeners how they can get involved in Stand For Children Day. In addition, call radio and television public affairs directors, to give them ideas for covering local activities related to Stand For Children. Then proceed full speed ahead to organize colorful, visually exciting events that highlight the importance of taking a Stand For Children.

Raising money for Stand For Children

Now is the time for advocates to begin raising money locally to help pay for transportation to the June 1 Stand For Children in Washington, D.C., says CDF Director of Development Donald Hense.

"If each person who wants to go contributes a small amount of money toward rental buses and vans, the bulk of their expenses will be met," says Hense. "However, local advocates may need to do some fund-raising, to help children and families who do not have sufficient personal funds to come to Washington."

Hense says there are many simple and effective ways to raise money locally. First, advocates should estimate their costs and develop a fund-raising goal. Once you have a goal in mind:

- **Look for sponsors.** Schoolteacher Carol Tice in Ann Arbor, Michigan, for example, is asking local businesses to provide seed money for the deposit on several buses. A business that sponsors a bus can put its name on a poster in the bus.
- **Ask for donations.** Businesses, nonprofit organizations, civic and social groups, locals of labor unions, and religious congregations also may be willing to donate money for materials, as well as goods and services such as paper, photocopying, and postage.
- **Put "penny jars" at local businesses.** Patrons can contribute small change toward sponsoring student councils and youth groups to come to Stand For Children Day.
- **Organize community fund-raising events.** Bake sales, car washes, dance-a-thons, bike-a-thons, bowling parties, and community clean-ups all are good community fund-raisers. "At every event," says Hense, "advocates should ask for contributions for Stand For Children."

Remember to account for all the money you raise and all the money you spend, advises Hense, and to comply with all applicable laws.

America's children are in trouble.
On June 1, 1996, you can help change that.

June 1, 1996
Lincoln Memorial
Washington, DC

Every day in America:

15 children are killed by firearms

2,660 babies are born into poverty

2,833 children drop out of school

8,493 children are reported abused or neglected

America ranks:

12th among 15 nations in mathematics achievement of 13-year-olds

18th among industrialized countries in the gap between rich and poor children

18th in infant mortality

16th in living standards of our poorest children

Call: 1-800-233-1200 or 1-202-234-0095

Write: Stand For Children, 1832 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20009

E-mail: standinfo@mailback.com

Convened by the Children's Defense Fund and endorsed by more than 1,300 national, state, and local organizations.

Short Takes

NGA Medicaid plan would hurt children

The Medicaid proposal announced in February by the National Governors' Association (NGA) would end guaranteed Medicaid coverage for more than 4.9 million American children by Fiscal Year 2002, according to a new CDF study. *The Governors' Medicaid Proposal: An Assault on Guaranteed Medicaid Coverage for Children and Parents* says that at least 5.5 million parents would lose guaranteed coverage.

"The governors' proposal singles out children and their parents for the deepest cuts," says CDF Health Director Stan Dorn. "It takes away the guarantee of Medicaid coverage from millions of children and their parents and then creates substantial financial incentives for states to deny them optional Medicaid coverage. The fact that the governors have chosen to structure their plan in this way raises questions about their claim that they will treat children well if they are given increased authority over children's health care."

According to Dorn, the NGA plan would deny the guarantee of Medicaid coverage to 3.1 million children of low-income working families, to 1.6 million poor children whose families receive Aid to Families with Dependent Children, and to more than 200,000 children with disabilities.

The study provides state-by-state numbers of children who would be denied guaranteed health coverage under the governors' proposal. The 10 states with the largest number of children who would lose guaranteed Medicaid coverage are California, Texas, New York, Florida, Illinois, Georgia, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, and North Carolina.

For a free copy of the study, contact Lauren Becker Robertson at 202-662-3551.

Photo © Nita Winter

Report confirms poor often cannot meet basic needs

Hard data are now available confirming that poor Americans suffer extreme hardships rarely experienced by nonpoor Americans. *Beyond Poverty: Extended Measures of Well Being: 1992*, a new study by the U.S. Census Bureau, shows, for example, that 11 percent of the poor report not having enough to eat, compared with only 1 percent of nonpoor Americans. In addition, 20 percent of the poor do not seek needed medical attention, compared with 7 percent of the nonpoor.

While 26 percent of the poor say they can't pay their full rent or mortgage, just 8 percent of the nonpoor say they have such difficulties. Thirty-nine percent of the poor report living in housing with rats, mice, or roaches, but 14 percent of the nonpoor report such problems.

The study also shows that families receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) have even more trouble than other poor families. "Because AFDC cash benefits are so meager, AFDC families often represent the poorest of the poor," says CDF Senior Program Associate Arloc Sherman. For example, 14 percent of those in AFDC families report not having enough to eat, and 29 percent of AFDC recipients say they can't pay their full rent or mortgage.

The report is based on data collected by the Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP) from September through December 1992.

To order a copy of the report, contact the U.S. Census Bureau at 301-763-4100. Ask for publication #P70-50RV.

North Carolina's Smart Start is improving child care

Smart Start, North Carolina's early childhood initiative, has increased by nearly 50 percent the number of child care centers offering care that is better than average in the state. The number of centers providing better-quality care has jumped from 328 to 478 since Smart Start began in 1993, according to Gov. Jim Hunt. Compared with other centers, the improved centers have smaller class sizes, more classroom and outdoor playground space, better-trained teachers, more activities that suit the ages of the children, and greater parent involvement.

Smart Start gives grants to counties to ensure that young children start school healthy and ready to learn. Participating counties must create local nonprofit pa tnerships to plan and oversee delivery of a broad range of coordinated services, including child care, to preschoolers and their families. In 1996, 44 of the state's 100 counties will participate in Smart Start. Each county provides the state a quarterly report on its progress.

More than 60,000 preschool children are now benefiting from Smart Start child care improvements, says the governor's office. Nearly 10,000 children are getting child care subsidies so their parents can work, and almost 10,000 new child care spaces have been created. Under Smart Start, more than 150,000 children have received immunizations to prevent childhood diseases, and about 35,000 have received preventive health screenings.

In Fiscal Year 1995–1996, the state appropriated more than $57 million for Smart Start. Since the initiative's inception in 1993, the private sector has contributed more than $14.5 million in cash, in-kind services, and volunteer time.

For more information, contact Monica Harris at the North Carolina Partnership for Children, 919-733-9190.

Charlotte conference-goers recommit to leaving no child behind

More than 1,900 community activists, parents, child advocates, educators, and service providers renewed their commitment to children during CDF's energizing annual conference in Charlotte, North Carolina, in February. In 70 inspirational plenary sessions and workshops, attendees explored the conference theme, "Healing America: Building a Movement to Leave No Child Behind."

Effective moral leadership is key to healing America and building a children's movement, according to Rockefeller Foundation Vice President **Angela Glover Blackwell**, who moderated a panel on the topic. "We need to figure out now, early in our journey, what we need, how we get it, how we recognize it, how we support it, and how we empower people to be courageous, to help America find its better self as it is healing itself," said Blackwell.

The **Rev. Bryan Hehir**, a professor of the practice of religion in society at Harvard Divinity School, noted that elected leadership is not the only area that needs moral strengthening; the fabric of civil society needs healing, too. "If you look at the healing task that we confront as a nation, it's going to take an ethic of character, an ethic of choice, and an ethic of community," he said.

Finding common values—such as an abhorrence of violence—can help a community build a movement for children, said **Sissela Bok**, a distinguished fellow at the Harvard Center for Population and Development Studies. "It is a movement of movements, in some sense, pulling together more groups and all the different groups that have in the past fought for justice and liberty and nonviolence for their own group. They have to join together and look at children and what's happening to children in America as the glue that can tie their lives together."

Author **Jonathan Kozol** told conference attendees that listening to children and giving them a voice through his writing is his way of seeking moral leadership. Kozol has chronicled his experiences with children in the South Bronx in his new book, *Amazing Grace: The Lives of Children and the Conscience of a Nation*. "The children and mothers in these neighborhoods have been castigated, condemned, stereotyped, and despised," said Kozol. But his own experience has convinced him, he said, "that there is more inherent morality among these children than among anyone I grew up with in the suburbs, and I wish there were a way, as we speak of leadership, that we could look for leadership to these, the least of those amongst us."

Conference attendees also heard from former Atlanta mayor and U.S. ambassador **Andrew Young**, who said America has made great progress in its fight against racism. But "we come to the question of poverty," said Young, "and we realize that we still are struggling to perfect and make democracy work for all our citizens." Leaving no child behind, said Young, now an environmental consultant and co-chair of the Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games, "takes innovative thinking, a willingness to spend some time to do things differently, and it takes love."

North Carolina's governor, **Jim Hunt**, said that North Carolina is working to leave no child behind by systematically taking steps to ensure that children get the early education and health care they need through the state's Smart Start initiative (see page 12).

(See page 14)

Former Atlanta mayor and U.S. ambassador Andrew Young opens CDF's 15th annual conference.

Photo © Jeff Cravotta

CDF at Work

Annual conference

(Continued from page 13)

Beefing up skills

In addition to attending a range of presessions, plenaries, and workshops, advocates had the option of participating in one of four new training tracks—basic media relations, advocacy and mobilization for children and families, advanced media relations, and challenging the culture of violence—to beef up their public relations and organizing skills. And, for the first time at a CDF conference, a computer demonstration lab was available, letting attendees get hands-on experience using the information superhighway. Staff from IBM, Bell South, the National Youth Center Network (NYCN), the Morino Institute, and Leadership, Education and Athletics in Partnership (LEAP) helped conference attendees log onto and use the computers. Many advocates took the opportunity to explore the Internet's World Wide Web pages devoted to children's advocacy, and to e-mail President Clinton, asking him to veto any proposals that would make more children poor, hungry, sick, or unsafe.

About 350 volunteers—many of them human service professionals—were recruited from the Charlotte area to help conference-goers register, according to **Cynthia Bailey**, a child resource coordinator for the Seigle Avenue Preschool Cooperative, who coordinated the volunteers. The volunteers not only helped the conference run smoothly, but received a morale boost themselves, says **Claire Kinnett Tate**, one of four co-chairs of the Host Committee. "Having the conference in Charlotte was a real opportunity for our folks who work with children every day to re-energize, to network, and to learn more about new programs and new methods of working for children."

Photo © Jeff Cravotta

Teens from the nonprofit performing arts group City at Peace promote peace and racial understanding.

Prayers for children

Conference activities included a moving interfaith service, which was attended by members of the Charlotte community as well as conference-goers, and included prayers and readings by local religious leaders. Charlotte's **Seigle Avenue Presbyterian Church Choir** sang anthems and hymns.

"Every child is important in America, and collectively we must develop children physically, mentally, morally, ethically, and spiritually," the **Rev. Casey Kimbrough**, president of the Clergy Association of Charlotte-Mecklenburg, said in welcoming those who attended. The **Rev. Dr. Eileen Lindner**, associate general secretary of the National Council of Churches of Christ, gave the reflection on the text.

Teens promote peace

Conference attendees also were treated to a special presentation by **City at Peace**, a nonprofit performing arts group that brings together teens from urban and suburban areas to work toward cross-cultural understanding and the prevention of violence. The performance was underwritten by Wachovia Bank of North Carolina.

City at Peace members meet every Saturday, to write, produce, and perform original vignettes about the challenges that touch their lives, including racial division and violence. Currently, City at Peace has programs in schools in seven cities across the country, involving more than 350 students. The 70 students performing at the conference came from the Washington, D.C., and Charlotte areas.

Beating the odds

Five Charlotte high school students who have overcome great obstacles to succeed in life were honored during the conference at the city's first-ever "Beat the Odds" ceremony, which was underwritten by the First Union Foundation.

"These five Charlotte young people should be an inspiration to us all, because they exemplify the courage, determination, and positive potential so many of our young people possess," said CDF President **Marian Wright Edelman**. Beat the Odds awards were presented to **Beau Bizri**, of Garinger High School; **Laquanda Dockery**, of Midwood High School; **Christina McIver**,

(See page 15)

Missed the conference? Get it on tape

- Audio cassette tapes for all conference workshops may be purchased from Dove Productions, 1-800-233-3683.
- Video tapes for all plenary sessions may be purchased through CDF Publications, 202-662-3652.

CDF at Work

Annual conference

(Continued from page 14)

of Wesley Uptown High School; **Aquila Jehan Shamsid-Deen**, of Harding University High School; and **Furman Smith**, of Myers Park High School. Each student received a $2,000 scholarship.

The event was hosted by Charlotte resident and CDF Board Member **Howard Haworth**. WBTV news anchor **Robert Inman** was master of ceremonies.

Young, Black, and giving back

More than 1,000 students and college-age young adults from across the country participated in the three-day Black Student Leadership Network (BSLN) conference, which ran February 9-11 in conjunction with CDF's conference.

The students attended workshops on technology, social activism, the Latino student movement, and art as a tool for social change, among other topics. They also participated in special roundtable discussions in which veteran activists and BSLN members shared their experiences and talked about the role of race in the upcoming presidential election. The young people broke into regional groups to learn how to mobilize other students for the June 1 Stand For Children.

Following the opening session, the young people held a mass meeting and rally at First Union [illegible] byterian C[illegible]h to rekindle the spirit of the civil rights movement. About 1,400 young people from the BSLN and the Charlotte community participated.

Photo © Jeff Cravotta

Civil rights activist Mae Bertha Carter displays her award for making a difference in the lives of children.

Be a role model

At a luncheon ceremony on the final day of the conference, Edelman called on advocates to participate in Stand For Children, a landmark mobilization at the Lincoln Memorial on June 1 in Washington, D.C. (see page 5).

Edelman also unveiled CDF's new "Everyday Hero" national public education campaign to drive home the message that parents play a vital role in the lives of children. In one print advertisement, for example, a child's eyes implore readers to "live your life as if someone's watching you...because someone is." The campaign was developed by CDF's pro bono advertising agency, Fallon McElligott of Minneapolis.

At the luncheon, three individuals were recognized for their efforts in making the world a better place for children. The annual awards were presented to **Angelena Bynum**, who founded Students Against Violence Everywhere (SAVE) seven years ago, after her best friend tried to prevent a fight from breaking out and was shot and killed; **Jonathan Kozol**, for his inspired works that raise public awareness about the plight of children; and **Mae Bertha Carter**, a former sharecropper who wanted better for her children and worked tirelessly to end school segregation in Sunflower County, Mississippi.

Photo © Jeff Cravotta

CDF President Marian Wright Edelman celebrates with the five Charlotte Beat the Odds honorees.

Save the date!

CDF's 1997 conference will be held March 12-15 at the Washington Hilton and Towers in Washington, D.C. The BSLN will meet March 14-16 at the Sheraton Washington Hotel in Washington, D.C. For information about the conferences, call the CDF Conference Hotline, 202-662-3684.

3 Facts

You Should Know About The Governors' Medicaid Proposal

1. 4.9 million American children would lose guaranteed Medicaid coverage.
2. 1.6 million of them would be in families receiving welfare.
3. More than 200,000 children with disabilities would lose coverage.

For more information, see page 12.

CDF Reports

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Key steps for children

Action	Status (as of March 27, 1996)
Entitlements. Preserve guaranteed funding for key child-survival programs, including AFDC, food stamps, foster care and adoption assistance, child nutrition, Medicaid, SSI, and child-support enforcement.	The welfare bill, H.R. 4, eliminated many safety net protections. The conference version gutted the AFDC and Medicaid entitlements, cut into the SSI protections for disabled children, and drastically cut food stamps and child nutrition programs. The entitlement to child protection services was only partially protected. On January 9th, the president vetoed the bill. In addition, the H.R. 4 provisions were included in the budget reconciliation bill, H.R. 2491, which the president also vetoed. The governors have proposed welfare and Medicaid reforms similar to the vetoed proposals. These proposals will be the basis for further congressional action in spring 1996.
Welfare reform. Expand job opportunities, offer child care help, improve child support, and reject attempts to repeal or limit aid to families with no other means of subsistence.	See "Entitlements," above.
Head Start and child care. Expand funding for Head Start and for child-care programs that enable low-income working families to stay off welfare and that help welfare parents get jobs.	Inadequate funding for child care is included in the welfare reform bill, H.R. 4, discussed above, which was also part of the budget reconciliation bill, H.R. 2491. Child care standards would be weakened.
Health care reform. Preserve expanded Medicaid coverage for poor and near-poor children and extend affordable health care coverage to all children and pregnant women.	The conference version of the budget reconciliation bill, H.R. 2491, passed by both houses in mid-November, eliminates the Medicaid entitlement to health care for poor people, wipes out the EPSDT program for children, and repeals the Vaccines for Children program. The president vetoed this bill. See "Entitlements," above.
Violence prevention. Fully fund key crime bill prevention components, including Ounce of Prevention, Community Schools, and Family and Community Endeavor Schools (FACES).	S. 3 and H.R. 728 would *repeal* prevention programs. H.R. 728 passed February 14, 1995. Senate action may occur early in summer 1996.

Call the president!

Urge President Clinton not to sign any welfare or Medicaid "reform" bill that makes more children poor, sick, hungry, or at risk of neglect or abuse.

CDF's legislative hotline tape:
202-662-3678

CDF's home page:
http://www.tmn.com/cdf/index.html

Capitol Hill switchboard:
202-224-3121

U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

U.S. Senate
Washington, DC 20510

White House comment line:
202-456-1111
E-mail: president@whitehouse.gov

President Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

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See you at Stand For Children, June 1

LEAVE NO CHILD BEHIND℠

Children's Defense Fund

CDF Reports

Marian Wright Edelman, President

April 1996
Volume 17, Number 5

People of all ages prepare to Stand For Children

Sam Allen, a physical therapist from Endicott, N.Y., was surprised when his 9-year-old daughter Monica asked him to take her to the June 1 Stand For Children at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C. —the national day of commitment to children. "I got chills," says Allen. "I went to school in the 1960s during the civil rights movement, but I never came to Washington, D.C., to march, so I'm really excited about Stand For Children as an historic event everyone can participate in." With Monica's encouragement, Allen has been talking to people he attends church with and to other parents at Monica's school, encouraging them to attend Stand For Children.

Henry and Hilde Bird of Cundy Harbor, Maine, have five children and seven grandchildren. While both Birds have helped children in their community during their long careers and through regular volunteer work, they didn't consider themselves activists—until now. "I see so many children in need and in pain, that I couldn't help but immediately respond to Stand For Children," says Henry Bird. "This is a tremendous opportunity to raise issues and help make people aware of what we're doing to our kids." Bird, a retired Episcopal clergyman, is mailing out information about Stand For Children to his friends and former colleagues, and has persuaded the Episcopal Diocese of Maine to endorse Stand For Children.

Young and old, big and small—individuals all across the country have been touched by the promise of Stand For Children and have been moved to take action. Many of the individuals mobilizing in their communities say they have long wanted to get involved for children, but didn't know where to start. Now they are working to form Children's Action Teams —groups of citizens dedicated to raising general awareness of children's needs —and initiating efforts to make sure those needs are met (see also page 13).

"Everywhere I go, people

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are so ready for this," says Bill Hager, director of St. Louis Child Care in Biddeford, Maine. Hager has been traveling around the state talking to small groups about Stand For Children. "There is so much fear and discomfort in our communities, and people are looking for a way to react," he says. "Stand For Children gives them a way to do that."

Word spreading fast

In just two short months, word about Stand For Children has spread like wildfire. *Parade*, the Sunday magazine supplement, featured Stand For Children on its April 7 cover. *Good Housekeeping*, *Child*, *Redbook*, and *Ebony* are reporting on the national day of commitment to children in their May issues. Additional articles about Stand For Children will appear in *Family Circle*, *Parents*, *Harper's Bazaar*, *Essence*, *Emerge*, and *Vibe*, as well as hundreds of state and local magazines, newspapers, newsletters, and bulletins. Television and radio stations nationwide also have been airing stories on community activities surrounding Stand For Children.

"Stand For Children is the kind of event that is going to move both children and adults and stay with them for a very long time."

By mid-April, more than 1,800 organizations, representing tens of millions of Americans, had called the national headquarters of Stand For Children to lend their support. The Association of Junior Leagues International, YMCA of the USA, United Cerebral Palsy Association, National Catholic Education Association, Council of Latino Agencies, and the American Bar Association are among the most recent endorsers of Stand For Children.

Each endorsing organization is helping to spread the word about Stand For Children. For example, The Campus Outreach Opportunity League (COOL), the National Association of Child Care Resource and Referral, and the National Low-Income Housing Coalition handed out Stand For Children fliers and postcards at their recent annual conferences. The American Association of Retired Persons and the Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism published information about Stand For Children in their publications. The American Association of School Administrators sent a camera-ready Stand For Children flier to each of its 15,000 school superintendents, so they can distribute fliers with report cards to parents in their districts. And many organizations have established links with Stand For Children's new home page on the World Wide Web (http://www.stand.org), including CDF and the National Education Association.

"I just keep shaking my head over the incredible response," says Isabelle Rodriguez Tapia, executive director of Stand For Children. "It's like tossing a pebble into a lake and watching the ripples spread, generating positive waves for children all along the way."

Program taking shape

Stand For Children Day activities will begin on the grounds of the Lincoln Memorial at 9 a.m., June 1. Although the program had not been finalized at press time, Stand For Children Deputy Director Jay Hedlund says that a variety of fun child- and family-oriented activities are planned throughout the morning, including singing by children's choirs, dancing by teen groups, a sing-along, and a children's march.

An interfaith worship service will start the formal program, which is scheduled from 1 p.m. to 3 p.m. Children's Defense Fund President Marian Wright Edelman will welcome Stand For Children participants with a call to action. No politicians will be invited to speak during the formal program, says Hedlund; rather, "we want Americans to hear from real people who work with children every day and see firsthand how we can make children's lives better."

The Stand For Children Day program will be available from the national office in May, says Hedlund, who promises that attendees will not be disappointed.

"Stand For Children is the kind of event that is going to move both children and adults and stay with them for a very long time," he says.

Grassroots organizing

Twelve-year-old Cory Fischer-Hoffman, a seventh grader at Bala Cynwyd Middle School, in a Philadelphia suburb, was looking for a project to work on in preparation for her June 22 Bat Mitzvah. She knew she wanted her project to center on children and considered working at a child care center during her spring break. But when she heard about Stand For Children, she changed her mind.

To mobilize for Stand For Children, Fischer-Hoffman, along with her friends Jennifer and Rachel Kotler, began talking to their friends, schoolmates, teachers, and rabbi to persuade them to come to Stand For Children. Fischer-Hoffman is writing a letter about Stand For Children that will be mailed with all of her Bat Mitzvah invitations, and she will write a letter that will be distributed to every member of her congregation, Beth David Reform Congregation. The girls' efforts have resulted in at least one bus scheduled to travel from their community to Stand For Children. Fischer-Hoffman will be on the bus with her father, Eric Hoffman, her mother Joanne Fischer, her 15-year-old brother Sage, and the Kotler family.

"There is so much children need," says Fischer-Hoffman, who previously came to Washington, D.C., for two social-issue rallies. "When we go to Wash-

(See page 4)

Spreading the word about Stand For Children

The congregation at River Road Unitarian Church in Bethesda, Md., has put up a "Growth Chart of Commitment," in the church lobby. The 500-slot chart is modeled on a child's growth chart and shows the number of parishioners committed to attending Stand For Children. The growth chart is already more than half full.

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A Voice for Children

by Marian Wright Edelman

Help us end our nation's shame

The morally unthinkable killing of children has not only become routine but is increasing in the world's greatest democracy. We Americans allowed 5,751 children to be killed by guns in 1993—almost twice as many as were killed by gunfire in one year a decade earlier. An American child is killed by gun violence every hour and a half.

What will it take to make parents and religious, community, and political leaders stand up and say enough? Why is the world's leading military power unable and unwilling to protect children from gun violence? How long will we tolerate the unbridled circulation and marketing of guns to those who kill our children and to our children and youth who kill themselves and each other?

Unfortunately, we can't look to this Congress to help us end the violence that is killing our children. The very same week the federal government made available these horrifying new statistics on firearm deaths, the House of Representatives voted to repeal the federal ban on assault weapons. And this Congress not only has failed to fund violence prevention initiatives for children that were enacted as part of the 1994 crime act—it has tried to repeal them.

But Congress' behavior doesn't let the rest of us off the hook. Just the opposite. All of us who care about children must stop waiting for someone else to take the initiative and start doing something ourselves to make our communities safer for children. We ought to be organizing campaigns asking parents to pledge that children in their homes will always be supervised by an adult and that all dangerous objects, including guns, will be kept out of the home, or at least out of children's reach. (I was sick at heart to learn of a recent poll showing that fewer than half of the parents who have children younger than 18 and own a gun keep the weapon safely locked away from children.)

We can't depend on others to save our children's lives. *We* must act.

We ought to be auditing our neighborhoods for safety. Most neighborhoods have assets—like libraries and playgrounds—that promote children's well-being. But they also have liabilities that threaten children—like empty lots and abandoned buildings that attract troublemakers. Neighbors can get together to identify and map the liabilities that need to be eliminated, as well as additional, potential assets that can be developed to help children—for example, businesses that might be asked to provide internships and summer jobs for teenagers. The audit should become the basis for an action plan to make the community safer for children.

We ought to make sure that children have safe places to go after school, on weekends, and during summers. We need to challenge churches, synagogues, mosques, recreation centers, and other organizations—especially in unsafe neighborhoods—to open their doors to children and recruit adults to supervise children's study and play and to serve as mentors. Faith communities, especially, should provide leadership, calling on members of their congregations to give more time, attention, and moral guidance to children.

When your Children's Action Team meets after Stand For Children to plan follow-up activities, consider the toll gun violence is taking on our children and design a community action plan to help end this epidemic of violence. (See this month's Special Report.)

We can't depend on others to save our children's lives. *We* must act. Every day that we do nothing, we lose 15 more children to guns.

Young people take charge

One of the most encouraging aspects of Stand For Children, says Executive Director Isabelle Rodriguez Tapia, is the number of young people involved. "You always hear about Generation X and their lack of idealism, but the chord that has been struck in the young people who are volunteering in communities around the country belies that notion," says Tapia. "The twenty-somethings are helping the next generation have a better future."

Twenty-four-year-old Lynne Echenberg is typical of the young people attracted by the spirit of Stand For Children. A 1994 Harvard University graduate, the energetic Echenberg is volunteering several hours each day as one of the Boston-area Stand For Children contacts, while she works full time at a small consulting firm. "This is exactly what I wanted to be doing," says Echenberg, who is considering law school. "I have a place in my heart for children, and they don't have a voice." Other examples of young people making a difference through Stand For Children include:

- A group of 20 New Mexico high-school students who are organizing an antiviolence train journey to Stand For Children. At various stops along the way, other young people and violence prevention groups will join the train ride to the District.

- Fraternity brothers from the Pi Kappa Phi house at Florida State University who delivered Stand For Children balloons and fliers to every state legislator on March 5—the opening day of the Florida Legislature—to urge members to use their votes to stand for children.
- A graduating senior from Miami University in Oxford, Ohio, now living in Washington, D.C., who has sent out letters to friends and family encouraging them to attend Stand For Children. She also sent her mother fliers to hand out at a conference, and enlisted her father's business as an endorser.

"It is critical that people of all ages participate in Stand For Children and begin building a movement for children," says Tapia. "But it is the younger generation that we are relying upon to sustain that movement into the new millennium."

Stand For Children

(Continued from page 2)

ington, it's to show that we care, so maybe politicians can help children," she says. "There's so much our nation can improve on. We need to put children's well-being higher on the list."

Sam Allen, Monica's father, also has been inspiring others in his community to participate in Stand For Children. Allen gave a presentation about the event at a St. Joseph's Catholic Church youth ministry meeting, and he has spoken to a number of parents at Monica's school and to his fellow parishioners about attending Stand For Children.

To date, Allen's and others' efforts have generated enough interest in the Endicott area to fill two buses with Stand For Children participants, and he and Monica plan to be on one of them. "I would love it if everybody had a mother and father who could spend some time with them like my parents, and not have to work all the time," says Monica. "Some parents hardly do anything with their children."

Spreading the word about Stand For Children

The law offices of Holland and Knight, in Tampa, Fla., are bringing a busload of members of the firm and the children they mentor through the "Opening Doors for Children" program.

After June 1

The many Children's Action Teams that have been formed in communities across the country mean that Stand For Children already is a victory for children, says Hedlund. But the final measure of Stand For Children's success ultimately will be how individuals, families, and communities treat children after June 1. "We want to send Stand For Children participants back home with all kinds of new ideas that they can use to continue making a difference for children," says Hedlund (see A Voice for Children, page 3). "As a parent, it could be as simple as reading to your child every day. As an employer, it could mean having child- and family-friendly policies. As a community, it could mean opening places of worship after school, for youth programs or for sanctuary. As a neighbor, it could mean reaching out to a child who needs your help."

The bus rides are extremely important, says Henry Bird, "because it's how we'll create networks and make the interconnections we need, to follow up on Stand For Children Day." The networking will be especially helpful for people who live in largely rural states, where people who work with children often feel isolated, says Bird. "Stand For Children will help us get in touch with each other, and once those interconnections are made, things will definitely begin to happen for children."

Gun Violence

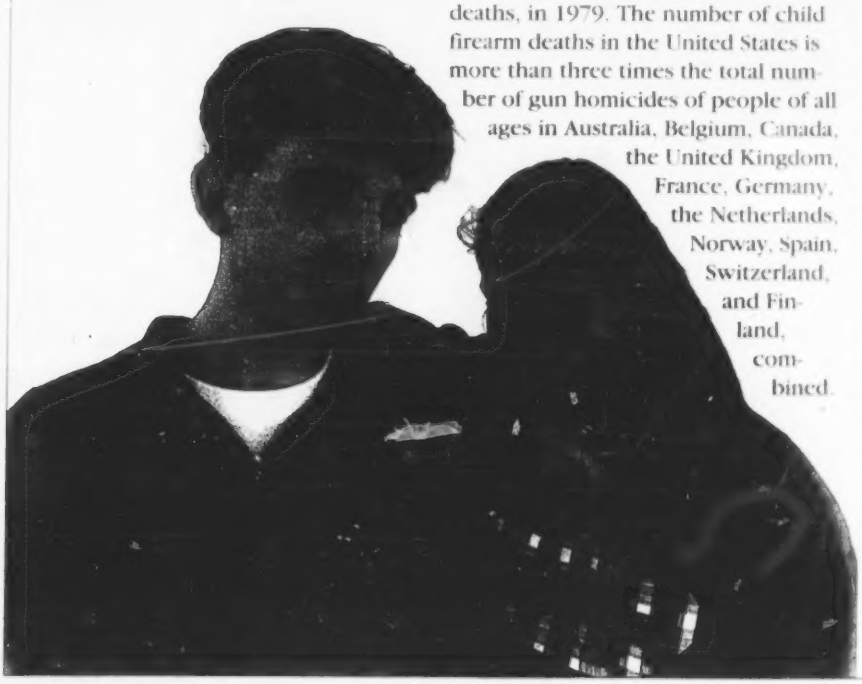
Toll on U.S. children keeps mounting

Another American child died from gunfire every 92 minutes in 1993. A total of 5,751 American children were killed that year—almost twice as many as were killed by guns a decade earlier, in 1983.

In 1993 alone, 372 more children were killed by guns than in 1992, an increase of 7 percent. These deaths include homicides, suicides, and accidental shootings.

CDF released these findings in April, based on the latest available unpublished data from the National Center for Health Statistics.

The number of children 19 and younger killed by guns in 1993 is the equivalent of about 205 classrooms of children. It is the highest yearly total since the National Center for Health Statistics began reporting child gun deaths, in 1979. The number of child firearm deaths in the United States is more than three times the total number of gun homicides of people of all ages in Australia, Belgium, Canada, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Switzerland, and Finland, combined.



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As high as the annual number of U.S. child firearm deaths is, however, it does not include the far greater number of children who are injured by guns each year, estimated by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) to be five times the number of reported deaths.

Over the decade 1983–1993, gun homicides—murders—have accounted for most of the increase in child gun deaths. During those years, the number of children murdered by guns nearly tripled, soaring by 196 percent (see Fig. 7, page 9). The vast majority of the young murder victims in 1993 (85 percent) were teens between the ages of 15 and 19 (see Fig. 2).

"It is long past time for parents and citizens, religious, community, private sector, and government leaders to stop the violent gun war that is sapping the lives of thousands of American children every year and terrorizing so many of our young every day," says CDF President Marian Wright Edelman. "If our nation will not commit to keeping its children safe, what does it say about our true values? Is not protecting children more important than protecting guns?"

All children at risk

Children of all races, ages, and backgrounds are losing their lives to guns. White children, who far outnumber children of other races and ethnic backgrounds, accounted for more than half of the gun deaths in 1993 (2,941). Yet the *rate* of firearm deaths (the number of deaths per 100,000 individuals) among Black children is higher than

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Toll keeps mounting

(Continued from page 5)

the rate for White children. Therefore, although Black children make up just 14 percent of the child population, in 1993 they suffered nearly as many deaths (2,618) as did White children. And not only have child firearm death rates risen alarmingly over the decade. The number of deaths has climbed every year since 1984, after three years of encouraging declines (see Fig. 6).

"If our nation will not commit to keeping its children safe, what does it say about our true values? Is not protecting children more important than protecting guns?"

Guns are taking their greatest toll on young Black males. In 1993 Black males 15 to 19 were five times as likely as White males in this age group to be killed by firearms (see Fig. 3), and their death rate has climbed almost without interruption since 1985 (see Fig. 5).

Gun violence does not exempt even our tiniest children. One hundred and sixteen children younger than 5 were killed by guns in 1993; 85 of them were murder victims. In 1993, more preschoolers died from gun violence than did police officers or American soldiers killed in the line of duty.

Among 5- to 9-year-olds, gun violence was the fourth leading cause of death in 1993; 141 children in this age group were killed by gunfire, 99 of them murdered.

Suicide increasing

American young people increasingly took their own lives during the decade between 1983 and 1993. Greater access to guns has been a critical factor in teens' rising suicide rates, according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. In 1993 a total of 1,460 American children committed suicide using guns, compared with 1,149 children in 1983—an increase of 27 percent. Most young suicide victims were between the ages of 15 and 19.

Although the majority of young people who commit suicide are White, the suicide rate is increasing fastest among young Black males. Between 1983 and 1993, the firearm suicide rate for Black males ages 15 to 19 more than tripled, while it doubled for Black male 20- to 24-year-olds. In 1993, the suicide rate for 20- to 24-year-old Black males was higher than the rate for White males in that age group (see Fig. 4).

Urgent action needed

In releasing these data, Edelman called on President Clinton, Congress, governors, mayors, every public official, and every citizen to make a commitment to end the senseless gun deaths of American children. Edelman urged that this commitment include, among other things:

- Giving our children moral guidance and setting an example for children by treating them and others with respect and settling disputes peaceably in our homes, in our neighborhoods, and in the halls of government.
- Pursuing stronger actions at all levels of government to regulate guns as the dangerous products they are, and rejecting efforts to repeal or weaken the current ban on assault weapons, the Brady law, or other laws that protect children from guns.
- Urging our communities of faith to speak out and rise up to meet the moral challenge of gun violence against children and move our nation to make the changes necessary to keep children safe from guns. Across the country, congregations are joining with others in a Covenant to Safeguard Children, sponsored by CDF and the Black Community Crusade for Children.
- Doing more to inform parents about the terrible risks of keeping guns at home. A gun in the home is far more likely to be used to kill a family member or friend than to kill an intruder.
- Creating safe and positive alternatives to the streets for children and youths, including summer job and youth service opportunities, and recreation activities.
- Urging the television, film, and music industries to stop glorifying guns and violence.

CDF and the Black Community Crusade for Children have initiated a Safe Start Campaign, to help communities take action to keep children safe. For information, call 202-662-3511.

Black child victims

One of the most alarming aspects of the surge in firearm deaths among children and young people is the highly disproportionate impact on young Black males. Between 1983 and 1993, firearm death rates for Black males between the ages of 15 and 24 grew five times as fast as those for young White males. Gun violence has become the leading cause of death among Blacks in this age group.

There is no sign that the trend is leveling off. Almost four times as many Black children were killed by gunfire in 1993 as in 1984. The 2,618 Black children younger than 20 killed in 1993 make up the highest yearly total for Black children since the National Center for Health Statistics began reporting child gun deaths, in 1979. The number of Black children killed by guns increased by more than 10 percent in 1993 and was the equivalent of 94 classrooms of school children.

The combined total of all Black children killed by gunfire in just two years—1992 and 1993—was larger than the number of Black people who died in all of the recorded lynchings throughout American history.

Figure 1 **Child Firearm Deaths in the States**

Firearm deaths among children ages 0-19, by cause, 1993

	All firearm deaths	Accident	Suicide	Homicide	Unknown intent
Alabama	135	26	34	71	4
Alaska	22	3	16	3	0
Arizona	127	19	50	53	5
Arkansas	69	5	24	39	1
California	904	44	141	711	8
Colorado	65	7	28	28	2
Connecticut	47	2	6	39	0
Delaware	5	0	2	3	0
District of Columbia	100	1	1	98	0
Florida	237	17	64	154	2
Georgia	165	25	41	92	7
Hawaii	3	1	1	0	1
Idaho	21	5	12	4	0
Illinois	363	15	45	297	6
Indiana	95	18	31	44	2
Iowa	26	3	15	8	0
Kansas	61	5	22	32	2
Kentucky	56	18	17	20	1
Louisiana	232	18	46	166	2
Maine	10	1	7	2	0
Maryland	110	1	15	91	3
Massachusetts	44	0	10	32	2
Michigan	235	15	58	158	4
Minnesota	39	2	15	22	0
Mississippi	106	22	31	52	1
Missouri	177	17	31	127	2
Montana	30	5	18	6	1
Nebraska	17	3	5	9	0
Nevada	33	4	13	13	3
New Hampshire	8	0	6	2	0
New Jersey	60	2	18	39	1
New Mexico	40	4	17	18	1
New York	344	8	44	288	4
North Carolina	161	30	38	93	0
North Dakota	7	0	4	2	1
Ohio	175	25	50	98	2
Oklahoma	82	9	35	34	4
Oregon	45	8	20	16	1
Pennsylvania	174	11	53	107	3
Rhode Island	10	0	3	7	0
South Carolina	89	12	28	47	2
South Dakota	17	1	10	5	1
Tennessee	114	23	43	48	0
Texas	515	53	125	317	20
Utah	37	4	26	7	0
Vermont	8	1	7	0	0
Virginia	122	16	42	64	0
Washington	82	8	25	45	4
West Virginia	31	2	15	13	1
Wisconsin	82	4	41	37	0
Wyoming	14	3	11	0	0
United States	**5,751**	**526**	**1,460**	**3,661**	**104**

Source: National Center for Health Statistics, computed by the Office of Analysis, Epidemiology and Health Promotion, from data compiled by the Division of Vital Statistics.

Figure 2 — U.S. Child Firearm Deaths, 1993

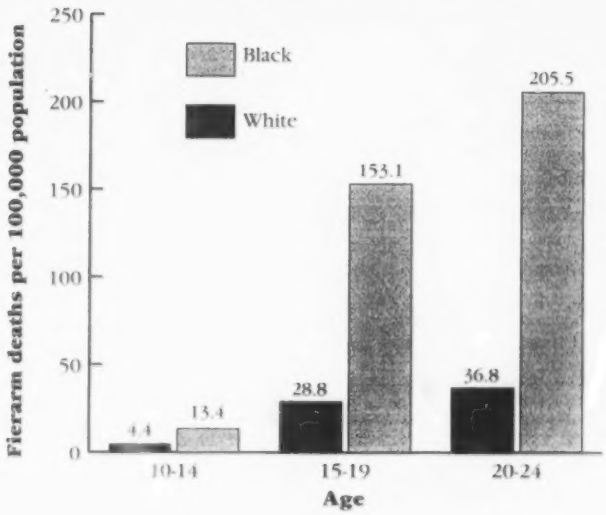
Firearm deaths of children ages 0-19, by age, race, and cause, 1993

Age	All firearm deaths		Homicide		Suicide		Accident		Unknown intent	
	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black
Under 1	6	7	6	7	0	0	0	0	0	0
1-4	55	40	39	26	0	0	16	13	0	1
5-9	85	47	58	37	1	0	24	9	2	1
10-14	423	248	160	187	151	23	102	32	10	6
15-19	2,372	2,276	1,057	1,964	1,076	164	191	120	48	28
Total	2,941	2,618	1,320	2,221	1,228	187	333	174	60	36

Source: National Center for Health Statistics; computed by the Office of Analysis, Epidemiology and Health Promotion, from data compiled by the Division of Vital Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

Figure 3 — Young Male Firearm Deaths, 1993

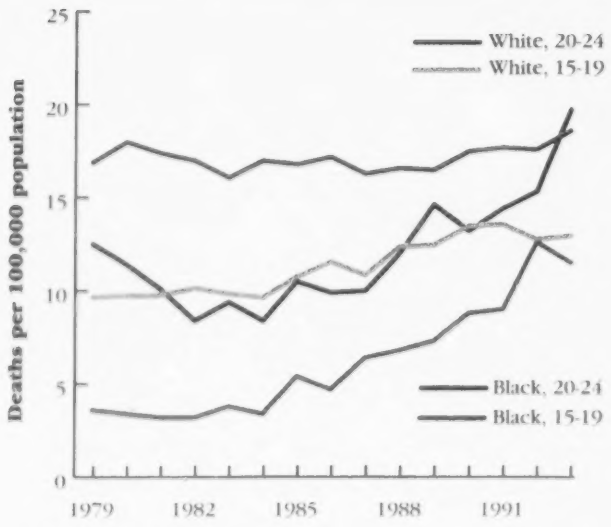
Firearm death rates among young males ages 10-24, by race and age, 1993



Source: National Center for Health Statistics, computed by the Office of Analysis, Epidemiology and Health Promotion, from data compiled by the Division of Vital Statistics and the Bureau of the Census.

Figure 4 — Young Male Firearm Suicides Over Time

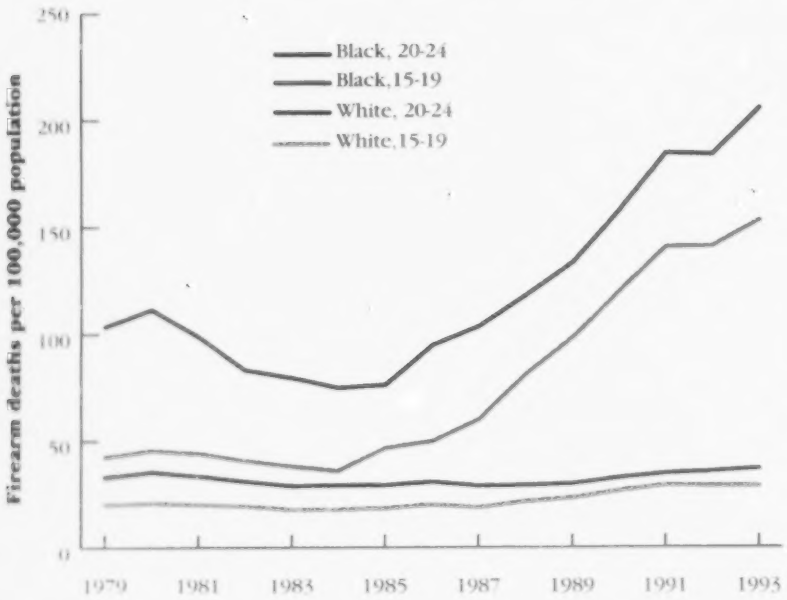
Firearm suicide death rates among young males ages 15-24, by race and age, 1979–1993



Source: National Center for Health Statistics

Figure 5 Young Male Firearm Deaths Over Time

Firearm death rates among young males ages 15-24, by age and race, 1979–1993



Firearm deaths per 100,000 population

Year	Ages 15-19		Ages 20-24	
	White	Black	White	Black
1979	20.0	42.5	32.8	103.5
1980	20.7	45.5	35.3	111.3
1981	20.1	44.1	33.3	98.6
1982	19.4	40.8	30.9	83.2
1983	17.7	37.9	28.7	79.4
1984	17.8	35.8	29.1	74.8
1985	18.4	46.5	29.1	76.1
1986	20.1	49.7	30.6	94.7
1987	18.7	59.8	28.7	103.4
1988	21.4	80.9	29.0	117.8
1989	23.1	98.2	29.7	133.2
1990	26.5	119.9	32.5	157.6
1991	29.1	140.5	34.6	184.3
1992	28.8	141.0	35.5	183.8
1993	28.8	153.1	36.8	205.5

Source: National Center for Health Statistics, computed by the Office of Analysis, Epidemiology and Health Promotion, from data compiled by the Division of Vital Statistics and the Bureau of the Census.

Figure 6 Child Firearm Deaths Over Time

Trends in firearm deaths of children ages 1-19, by cause, 1979–1993

Year	Homicide	Suicide	Accident	Unknown	Total
1979	1,644	1,220	722	112	3,698
1980	1,730	1,212	686	105	3,733
1981	1,647	1,211	602	113	3,573
1982	1,484	1,207	549	77	3,317
1983	1,231	1,149	511	60	2,951
1984	1,274	1,112	552	77	3,015
1985	1,339	1,256	517	72	3,184
1986	1,529	1,292	469	72	3,362
1987	1,582	1,280	466	80	3,408
1988	1,961	1,386	543	91	3,981
1989	2,384	1,379	563	71	4,397
1990	2,858	1,474	538	71	4,941
1991	3,264	1,436	549	95	5,344
1992	3,351	1,426	500	90	5,367
1993	3,647	1,460	526	104	5,737

Note: Does not include deaths of children under age 1 because such data were not available before 1991.

Source: National Center for Health Statistics; computed by the Office of Analysis, Epidemiology and Health Promotion, from data compiled by the Division of Vital Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

Figure 7 Rise in Child Firearm Deaths, 1983–1993

Changes in firearm deaths of children ages 1-19, by cause, 1983–1993

Cause	1983	1993	Change	Percent
Homicide	1,231	3,647	2,416	196.3%
Suicide	1,149	1,460	311	27.1
Accident	501	526	25	5.0
Unknown	70	104	34	48.6
Total	2,951	5,737	2,786	94.4

Note: Does not include deaths of children under age 1 because such data were not available for 1983.

Source: National Center for Health Statistics, computed by the Office of Analysis, Epidemiology and Health Promotion, from data compiled by the Division of Vital Statistics. Calculations by Children's Defense Fund.

. . . More about Stand For Children

Transportation tips

By mid-April, parents, grandparents, religious leaders, and children's advocates around the country had chartered at least 2,210 buses for travel to Washington, D.C., for the June 1 Stand For Children. "People are so eager to attend Stand For Children that they are going to great lengths to find a way to Washington, D.C.," says Ben Foss, Stand For Children transportation coordinator.

One of the most economical ways to get to Stand For Children is to book your group on a bus, says Foss. Since bus companies typically are booked well in advance and June is the peak season for group trips, Foss advises advocates to reserve buses immediately—even before they are filled. "Once people know they have a way to get to Washington," says Foss, "recruitment will become much easier."

In some states, organizers are setting up "bus pools" to help coordinate transportation, says Foss. A lead organization acts as a depository for money raised locally for bus deposits, makes bus reservations, and then works with local groups that commit to filling and funding buses.

Stand For Children travelers also may want to consider coming to Washington, D.C., by train. While train fare generally is higher than bus fare, taking the train is very convenient, says Foss, especially since Amtrak's Washington terminal, Union Station, is right in the heart of the city and gives travelers immediate access to the District's underground rail system, the Metro. Children under 16 travel at 50 percent off Amtrak's best fare available. Seniors over 62 also travel at reduced rates.

Travelers shouldn't assume that they can't afford a plane ticket, says Foss. Stand For Children has arranged for Travel Discounters, a national booking house, to donate a percentage of its commission on airline ticket sales to support Stand For Children. Advocates can call Travel Discounters at 1-800-220-9126, mention Stand For Children, and ask for the "TS 1000" rate.

Some airlines will allow people to use their frequent flyer miles to buy tickets for other individuals. Sister Linda Fuselier, the children's services coordinator at the Center for AIDS Services in Oakland, Calif., mentioned to a volunteer that she would like to attend Stand For Children with one of her families affected by HIV. The volunteer asked four of her friends who travel frequently to donate their frequent flyer miles to the center, so Sister Linda, Dorothy Chapman, and Chapman's two granddaughters can fly to Washington, D.C., for Stand For Children. Since airline policies vary, be sure to check with the airline before attempting to transfer any frequent flyer miles.

You also can ask your local airline to support Stand For Children. The Children's Action Alliance in Phoenix, Ariz., asked America West Airlines to help bring children and families to Stand For Children. The airline agreed to donate tickets.

And airplanes can be rented, notes Foss. A Children's Action Team in north suburban Detroit, led by the Oakland County Public School District, has chartered a 360-seat airplane to fly children and families to Washington, D.C., at a cost of about $140 per person, and is holding fundraising dinners to help pay for it.

For more information about transportation to Stand For Children, call the Travel and Accommodations Hotline at the national office, 1-800-233-1200, ext. 602, or send an e-mail to: standtravel@mailback.com requesting updated transportation information.

Spreading the word about Stand For Children

A Chicago woman, wearing a Stand For Children button while shopping, attracted the attention of a sales associate who had seen information about the event on television. The customer was able to give her salesperson information on how she could help mobilize in the community.

Need help?

Organizers at the Stand For Children national headquarters want to help you mobilize in your community for the national day of commitment to children. To receive general information about Stand For Children, or a Children's Action Team packet, call 1-800-663-4032. To obtain Stand For Children brochures, information about housing and transportation, a logo, or a media kit, call 1-800-233-1200. When the operator answers, press 1. Wait for the prompt, then dial one of the following extensions, followed by the # sign:

- Stand For Children logo (please specify Mac or IBM diskette), ext. 236.
- Stand For Children brochures (English, Spanish, Vietnamese, and Korean available), ext. 212.
- Publicity kits for local groups doing press on Stand For Children, ext. 236.
- Travel and Accommodations Hotline, ext. 602.

Keeping bus riders informed

To help make sure children and families riding buses to Washington, D.C., have a safe and enjoyable trip, each bus should have a captain who is responsible for coordinating logistics and disseminating information, says Stand For Children transportation coordinator Ben Foss.

"If possible, it's best to select an individual who has been to Washington, D.C., before, so the captain will have some familiarity with the area and can answer questions that other riders may have," says Foss. "Bus captains should work closely with the national Stand For Children office, which can help them stay up to date on the latest transportation developments."

Every bus captain should be sure to leave his or her name and address on the Travel and Accommodations Hotline (1-800-233-1200, ext. 602), says Foss, to receive a Bus Captain's Guide in May. The guide includes the day's schedule and information about reserved lots for bus parking.

Bus captains also may want to obtain a Washington, D.C., visitor packet by calling the District's Visitor Information Line (202-789-7000). The packets include maps and tour information that can be copied for everyone on the bus, says Foss. The Metro customer service center (202-637-7000) also can supply visitors with transit maps and parking information.

Before leaving for Stand For Children, says Foss, each bus captain should provide every traveler with a copy of the schedule, explaining where and when the bus will be leaving the community, the estimated travel time to and from Washington, D.C., the estimated departure time from Washington after the event, and time of arrival back home. Bus captains, he says, will also want to attach a list of items riders should bring with them on the bus, such as snacks, pillows and blankets, toys and games, and books. The Bus Captain's Guide will contain additional suggestions.

On the way to Washington, D.C., bus captains should talk with riders, says Foss, to make sure they know how to get to the Lincoln Memorial, and can find their way to other sites that may interest them, on and near the National Mall. Captains should double-check that riders know where to meet in the District for the bus trip home, says Foss. "With a little planning and communication, bus captains can help make sure travelers easily find their way around Washington."

Spreading the word about Stand For Children

An administrative assistant from Riverdale, Md., arranged for a Stand For Children information table at her neighborhood mall one weekend in April, and persuaded her favorite Mexican restaurant to attach Stand For Children fliers to every children's menu.

A Vienna, Va., mother of two has put a message about Stand For Children on her home telephone answering machine.

In Illinois, the statewide Children's Action Team persuaded the Chicago Board of Education to include Stand For Children postcards in every report card going home to parents in April.

A family-owned supermarket in New Orleans, Schwegmann's Giant, will include information about Stand For Children in the May advertisements it places in the *Times-Picayune*.

Comedy show to benefit Stand For Children

Comedians Rosie O'Donnell and Paula Poundstone, and jazz musician Wynton Marsalis, among other celebrities, will perform at the Kennedy Center in Washington, D.C., to benefit Stand For Children. The benefit is set for May 31, 1996, the night before the national day of commitment to children.

Warner Brothers is underwriting the benefit. Additional corporate sponsors include clothing manufacturer Tommy Hilfiger and publishing company Condé Nast.

For information about tickets to the comedy performance, call Kim Putens at 1-800-234-0095, ext.605.

Staying over in Washington, D.C.

Finding an affordable place to stay in Washington, D.C., can be a challenge. But if you make arrangements early, there are some low-budget options for those who want to spend the night in the District before or after Stand For Children.

"Affordable hotel rooms are available in Washington, D.C., especially if travelers book their rooms soon," says Lisa Misol, Stand For Children housing coordinator. "Travelers on a tight budget also may want to consider staying overnight at a university, hostel, or community center that rents out space at reasonable rates."

To find out about inexpensive housing options, travelers can check the "Housing Update" on the Stand For Children World Wide Web home page on the Internet (http://www.stand.org) or request housing information via e-mail (standtravel@mailback.com). The Housing Update outlines different housing options and lists inexpensive housing alternatives, with rates and phone numbers. Stand For Children participants who cannot access the updated housing information electronically can call the Stand For Children Travel and Accommodations Hotline (1-800-233-1200, ext. 602) and ask that housing information be mailed to them.

Misol also is working to find community housing, which is generally free, though it usually means sleeping on the floor. "I am reaching out to community centers and religious organizations and asking them to open their doors to visitors," says Misol. "I have asked that they help by offering a community space as a hospitality site for overnight guests, or by coordinating home stays with families." Misol encourages families that belong to religious institutions or national organizations with Washington, D.C.–based affiliates to ask their contacts about community housing. Many religious denominations are working directly with their members to arrange community housing in the area. Travelers unable to find community housing should contact Misol (1-800-233-1200, ext. 258), so she can work to match each group with a host organization.

Travelers wanting to stay at hotels should consider using a hotel reservation service to make their arrangements. Washington DC Accommodations (WDCA), at 1-800-554-2220, is a reservation service that is working with Stand For Children participants to arrange hotel reservations at discounted rates. WDCA will work with individuals, groups, and travelers with special needs, to find comfortable, economical hotels anywhere in Washington, D.C., or in suburban Virginia or Maryland. WDCA is making a donation to Stand For Children. Another service that can provide information on hotels and make reservations is Capitol Reservations (1-800-931-3110). When you call a hotel reservation service to make your arrangements, be sure to tell them that you are with Stand For Children, says Misol.

To keep hotel expenses down, Misol suggests lodging four people in a room or booking a suite with a pull-out sofa. And it's generally cheaper to stay in suburban Maryland or Virginia than in Washington, D.C.

"We are happy to be a resource for families who need information about housing in Washington, D.C.," says Misol. "We encourage everyone to make their housing arrangements as soon as they know they are coming to Stand For Children."

Spreading the word about Stand For Children

Maryland Gov. Parris Glendening and Mountain View, Calif., Mayor Ralph Faravelli have proclaimed June 1 Stand For Children Day.

A child care advocate from Chevy Chase, Md., has sent information about Stand For Children to all of the individuals on her Christmas card list.

Photo © Rick Reinhard

Ben Cohen and Jerry Greenfield, founders of Ben & Jerry's Homemade, and CDF President Marian Wright Edelman scoop ice cream into a 75-gallon "Cone of Commitment" at a Washington, D.C., press conference April 11, to demonstrate their support for Stand For Children.

Stand For Children on the Internet

E-mail:

General information: standinfo@mailback.com

Updated list of endorsers: standendorser@mailback.com

Travel and housing information: standtravel@mailback.com

Children's Action Team packet: standaction@mailback.com

World Wide Web: http://www.stand.org

Field Strategies

by Lisa Sullivan, CDF Field Director

Building a Children's Action Team for Stand For Children

It is critical that each and every child advocate do his or her part to help spread the word about Stand For Children, June 1 at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C. If you haven't done so already, there's still time to mobilize children and families in your community for this national day of commitment to children, by forming a Children's Action Team. Such teams not only are vital to the success of Stand For Children but are essential for setting agendas after June 1, to ensure every child the best possible start in life.

Setting up your team. A Children's Action Team may be as small as four people or as large as 400. To organize a team in your community, make a list of the organizations you are affiliated with. Do you regularly attend a church, mosque, or synagogue? Do you play on a softball or basketball team? Do you belong to Rotary or Kiwanis, a sorority or fraternity, a union, an alumni group, or a book club? Are there parents, grandparents, or teachers whom you see regularly at your child's day care or school? Do your neighbors, friends, colleagues, and relatives have children? All of these people are likely candidates for your Children's Action Team.

"This is classic networking," says Bill Hager, director of St. Louis Child Care in Biddeford, Maine, who had only five people come to the first team meeting he assembled three months ago. But, says Hager, "if each person in your core group reaches out and gets five more people involved, then you get 30. It builds that way."

Before seeking out the people on your list, think about how you will explain the goals of Stand For Children, what activities the team might undertake, and why the event will be important for children in your community. Recruiting team members face to face is most effective, but recruiting over the phone is another option.

When you speak with potential team members, find out about their interests and concerns regarding children and talk about how Stand For Children matches their interests. Establishing such rapport early on will encourage team members to stay active in the group to work on follow-up activities after the event. Set up a time and place for team members to meet and brainstorm ideas and strategies for organizing your team.

Focusing your team. At your first meeting, identify the groups, organizations, and individuals you are going to work with, and set an ambitious but serious goal for the number of people you want to bring to Washington, D.C. Hager's core team of five, for example, decided that they wanted at least one bus from every county in Maine to "roll down I-95 to D.C." Since that goal would have been daunting for such a small group, team members called advocates they knew around the state and invited them to attend a second meeting. The resulting group of 10 then identified a lead organizer for each county, and the effort grew from there. At press time, 13 of Maine's 16 counties had Children's Action Teams, says Hager.

Organizing your team. Everyone has talents that can be tapped. Each team should divide up responsibilities and assign one team member to keep everyone on track.

Teams also should develop a timeline of activities and figure out how to keep everyone informed of new developments; regular meetings, a centrally located bulletin board, a phone tree, and e-mail all are good ways to share information. Be sure to create a card file or computer database to keep track of individuals and groups interested in attending Stand For Children and getting involved in working for children.

Building a base of support. The stronger your community outreach, the more people your team will be able to bring to Washington and the stronger your follow-up activities will be in the community. Team members should ask co-workers, friends, and neighbors to volunteer their time or donate money for bus, train, or plane tickets. "There are so many things people can do to help that don't take much time," notes Lynne Echenberg, who is one of the contacts for Boston-area Stand For Children activities. "If someone can give just 15 minutes a day or put up some posters on their way to work, that helps out. And donating money doesn't take any time."

> **"Our nettlesome task is to discover how to organize our strength into compelling power."**
>
> **—Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.**

Children's Action Teams also should ask local businesses—such as hairdressers, restaurants, grocery stores, and dry cleaners—to help spread the word about Stand For Children by putting up signs about the event or making fliers available. At Ben & Jerry's 125 ice cream scoop shops around the country, volunteers distributed information about Stand For Children Day during the company's annual free ice cream cone giveaway day, April 12.

By forming Children's Action Teams in your community, you can help make Stand For Children a great day. Most of all, however, you'll be ready to mobilize your community to enhance children's lives *after* June 1.

4 Facts

you should know about gun violence

1. In 1993 alone, 5,751 American children were killed by firearms.
2. Another American child dies from gunfire every 92 minutes.
3. Between 1983 and 1993, the number of children murdered by guns nearly tripled.
4. In 1993 more preschoolers died from gun violence than did police officers or American soldiers killed in the line of duty.

See Special Report, page 5, for more information.

CDF Reports

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Key steps for children

Action	Status (as of April 24, 1996)
Entitlements. Preserve guaranteed funding for AFDC, food stamps, foster care and adoption assistance, child nutrition, Medicaid, SSI, and child support enforcement.	H.R. 4, vetoed by the President in January, would have gutted the AFDC entitlement; only partially retained the entitlement to child protection services; and cut SSI for children, food stamps, and child nutrition programs. H.R. 4 provisions, along with language to repeal the Medicaid entitlement, also had been part of the budget reconciliation bill previously vetoed by the President. In February, the governors proposed entitlement changes similar to those vetoed. Congress may soon consider a bill based on the governors' proposals.
Welfare reform. Expand job opportunities, increase the minimum wage, offer child care help, improve child support, and reject attempts to deny aid to families with no other means of subsistence.	H.R. 4 inadequately funded child care and weakened child care standards. Decisions for FY 1997 Head Start funding may be made soon.
Head Start and child care. Expand funding for Head Start and for child care programs for low-income working families.	
Health care reform. Extend affordable health care coverage to all children and pregnant women.	In addition to eliminating the Medicaid and AFDC entitlements, the vetoed budget reconciliation bill, H.R. 2491, would have repealed the EPSDT and Vaccines for Children programs. In a positive step, the Senate and House have passed bills (S. 1028, H.R. 3103) to protect families against denial of insurance coverage for pre-existing conditions. Extraneous amendments, if preserved in conference, may provoke the President's veto.
Juvenile justice and violence prevention. Reauthorize the Juvenile Justice Delinquency Prevention Act (JJDPA), retaining its core protections for children. Fully fund key prevention programs created by the 1994 crime act.	JJDPA hearings under way in House and Senate. A bill is expected this summer. Funds for Community Schools and FACES prevention programs in 1994 crime act were eliminated in FY 1996. Decisions for FY 1997 to be made soon.
Education of children with disabilities. Reauthorize the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA).	Senate Labor Committee has marked up the IDEA reauthorization bill; it awaits Senate floor action. The House EEO subcommittee marked up the bill on April 24.

Call the President!

Urge President Clinton not to sign any welfare or Medicaid "reform" bill that makes more children poor, sick, hungry, or at risk of neglect or abuse.

CDF's legislative hotline tape:
202-662-3678

CDF on the Internet:
http://www.tmn.com/cdf/index.html

Capitol Hill switchboard:
202-224-3121

U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

U.S. Senate
Washington, DC 20510

White House comment line:
202-456-1111
E-mail: president@whitehouse.gov

President Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

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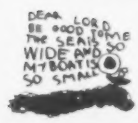

Children's Defense Fund

LEAVE NO CHILD BEHIND℠

CDF Reports

Marian Wright Edelman, President

May 1996
Volume 17, Number 6

Immunization rate up

One in four children still lacks full protection

The percentage of U.S. preschool children protected from preventable childhood diseases appears to be on an upswing, according to two recent surveys by the National Center for Health Statistics. The National Health Interview Survey (NHIS) showed that in 1994, 73 percent of 19- to 35-month-old children had all the required vaccinations for measles, mumps, and rubella (MMR); diphtheria, pertussis, and tetanus (DPT); and polio, while the National Immunization Survey (NIS), initiated in April 1994, showed that by March 1995, 75 percent of 19- to 35-month-old children had had these vaccinations. An earlier survey, similar but not entirely comparable, showed that just 55 percent of children in this age range in 1992 had had their MMR, DPT, and polio vaccinations.

"As a nation, we have made real progress in recent years in protecting young children against preventable childhood diseases," says CDF Health Director Stan Dorn. "It shows what we can do when all parts of our society work together toward a common goal for children." The 1989–1991 measles epidemic made more parents aware of the need for immunizing their children, says Dorn. Since then, special efforts by child advocates, community groups, private doctors, and federal and state agencies working together to carry out the President's Childhood Immunization Initiative have fueled further improvements. Special community events like health fairs, weekend immunization clinics, multilingual outreach, and extended office hours, all have made it easier for parents to get children their shots.

VFC working

Through one key part of the 1993 immunization initiative enacted by Congress, the new Vaccines for Children (VFC) program, the federal government also is helping to make immunizations available to more children, says Walter Orenstein, director of the national immunization program for the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) in Atlanta.

(See page 2)

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Child immunization

(Continued from page 1)

The VFC program attacks the problem of high vaccine cost, which has been one of the major barriers to childhood immunization, especially for low- and moderate-income children who don't have any health insurance. The program makes free vaccine available for uninsured, Medicaid-covered, and Native American children through public clinics and private doctors who enroll in the program. Some children with health insurance that does not cover vaccinations are benefiting, as well.

"The VFC program has been terrific," says Louis Cooper, New York state district chairman for the American Academy of Pediatrics and director of pediatrics at St. Luke's Hospital in New York City. "Now doctors can tell families not to worry about the cost, because they can just come in and get immunized."

VFC also is helping pediatricians provide less-fragmented care for children, says Cooper. In the past, the rising cost of vaccines forced physicians to refer more and more of their uninsured, low- and moderate-income patients to often-overburdened public health clinics. The result was many missed opportunities to immunize children in the office; parents and children had to make extra trips to the clinics and endure long waits, which often discouraged parents from getting their children's shots on time. "We're grateful for the boost VFC has given our immunization efforts," says Cooper. "It has moved us in the direction that all of us had hoped we'd live to see, where every child has a medical home, rather than episodic care."

Action Box:

Do the private providers in your community know about the Vaccines for Children (VFC) program? Have them call their state or county health department's immunization program to find out how they can participate.

For states like Louisiana, California, and Illinois, the VFC program is saving a "substantial amount of money," says Orenstein. Because states are able to purchase vaccines at prices that are negotiated by the federal government and are lower than market prices, VFC has freed up immunization funds for other necessary activities, such as increasing outreach, expanding clinic hours, adding staff, and creating systems to remind parents when their children need their shots. And the VFC program is improving relationships with private doctors and leading to the collaborations between the public and private health sectors that Orenstein believes are essential, "if we're going to build a system where all children in the United States are immunized."

By May 1996, federally purchased vaccines were available under VFC from private providers in at least 46 states. Nationally, more than 39,000 sites were participating; more than 5 percent were private provider sites, many of which are likely to include more than one doctor.

Although the VFC was not in operation during most of the period covered by the latest immunization surveys, a number of state health officials were reporting by the end of 1995 that VFC had begun to make a difference. Louisiana officials report, for example, that VFC has been responsible for increasing the rates from 64 percent in 1994 to 75 percent currently. Delaware officials are predicting at least a 10 percent boost in rates this year, due to VFC. In Ohio, immunization rates have increased 5 percent in the past year alone, says Mary Wachtel, a health advocate in CDF's Ohio office.

VFC is critical

Many of the members of the majority in Congress have indicated that they would like to repeal the VFC program. Federal and state health officials acknowledge that the 13-month-old VFC program got off to a rocky start during its initial planning phase and still is not perfect, but "as states have had experience with VFC and have seen its benefits, more and more are reacting favorably," says Orenstein. The repeal of VFC would damage state programs irreparably, says John Lumpkin, president of the Association of State and Territorial Health Officials (ASTHO) and director of the Illinois Department of Public Health. Lumpkin recently wrote President Clinton on behalf of ASTHO that VFC has become an "integral component of our efforts to immunize 90 percent of all 2-year-olds from preventable diseases by the year 2000." For this reason, public health officials serving both Republican and Democratic governors have rallied around VFC.

Without VFC, Lumpkin said, Maine, which delivers 85 percent of its immunizations in the private sector, would have to decrease or eliminate vaccine supplied to private physicians. New Hampshire's and North Dakota's universal purchase programs would cease to exist. Rhode Island would lose about 28 percent of its immunization budget if the VFC program were repealed; Utah would lose 39 percent. And Texas would immunize approximately 151,000 fewer children without the VFC-supplied vaccine, making it not only impossible to achieve the U.S. Surgeon General's 90 percent goal for the year 2000, but difficult to sustain its present rate.

"Contrary to some false reports," said Lumpkin, "Vaccines for Children has resulted in only a 12 percent overall increase in public immunization expenditures since 1994." ASTHO members are as concerned as anyone about spending tax dollars frugally, says Lumpkin, and the VFC does just that. He notes that VFC is expected to save at least $8.80 for every dollar spent, by increasing the likelihood that children will avoid getting life-threatening and treatment-intensive diseases.

More work to do

While the successful launch of VFC and the recent upward trend in immunization rates are encouraging, there's still a long way to go, says Dorn. One in every four 2-year-olds remains inadequately protected against the full range of preventable and potentially fatal or disabling diseases, he says, and the risk remains even greater for poor children. "To further increase immunization rates in this country, we will need to employ every creative idea we can think of, in the private and public sectors, and at all levels of government," says Dorn. "And advocates must remind their congresspeople that VFC is essential to this multifaceted effort to keep all of our children healthy."

CDF Reports

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CDF on the Internet:
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A Voice for Children

by Marian Wright Edelman

Stand For Children: Pray, speak out, and act

"Faith by itself, if it has no works, is dead." Many of us have heard that scripture so often that we no longer think much about its meaning. Yet the theme of this year's National Observance of Children's Sabbaths, "Stand For Children: Pray, Speak Out, and Act," reminds us once again that our faith requires action (see Special Report).

As people of faith, we have a duty to participate in the civic life of our community, state, and nation. The Children's Sabbaths—this year on the weekend of October 18–20—call us to work actively to ensure all children a Healthy Start, a Head Start, a Fair Start, a Safe Start, and a Moral Start in life.

Feeling skeptical about our government and our political leaders, many citizens have turned their backs on political and civic activities. But democracy is not a spectator sport, and cannot survive if citizens sit passively on the sidelines. We have to make sure that children and other vulnerable citizens are protected, nurtured, and treated justly. The Children's Sabbaths help us carry out our faith-based obligation:

Pray for children. These days, when our values are threatened from many directions, we need prayer more than ever. We can ask God to open our hearts, raise our awareness, strengthen our resolve, and inspire us to act. Last year, students at Congregation B'nai Israel's religious school in Baton Rouge, La., wrote prayers and essays about children's needs and read them during their synagogue's Children's Sabbath service.

We have a duty to participate in the civic life of our community, state, and nation.

Speak out for children. In this election year, we must all pledge to use our vote to speak out on behalf of children and encourage others to do so. While it is not appropriate for congregations to endorse particular candidates and parties, we can ask our faith community to help with, or sponsor, voter education forums, voter registration drives, and get-out-the-vote efforts. We also should work within our churches, synagogues, and mosques to plan candidate forums, where citizens can talk with the candidates about children's needs. To help foster discussion with political candidates, the Unitarian Universalist Service Committee has developed a list of questions to ask candidates.

Voting and other election-oriented activities should be just the beginning, however. As people of faith, we also should make the effort—year in, year out—to speak for children in civic settings—at school board meetings, city council and neighborhood meetings, and local budget hearings. And we should regularly talk to our elected and appointed representatives and public officials about making children our top public priority. Representatives from Bethany Christian Church in Louisville, Ky., did exactly that, when they met recently with their mayor to propose a city-wide event to call attention to children's needs.

Act for children. We can serve as prophets and shepherds to lead others to be fully committed and involved in the community. Last year, Vienna Baptist Church in Vienna, Va., invited local government officials to participate in its Children's Sabbath service, to demonstrate the church's commitment to working with community leaders to improve children's lives.

We cannot sit silently in our houses of worship and fulfill our responsibilities as people of faith or as citizens of a great democracy. The Children's Sabbaths remind us to put our faith to work. Please join us.

Stand For Children

Wisconsin family gathers on June 1

The Jacobson family of Holmen, Wis., is spread out all across the country. Yet, Don and Twila Jacobson and their 10 children with spouses, 23 grandchildren, and other relatives still manage to get together several times a year. On June 1, most of the Jacobsons are reuniting at Stand For Children—the national day of commitment to children at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C.

"Our whole family is committed to championing children," says Kerry Jacobson, who is the superintendent of schools in Little Falls, Minn., and the one responsible for bringing his extended family to Stand For Children. "This is a unique and important historical event, and we wouldn't miss it for anything."

Since each of the Jacobson children is an educator or in education administration, each sees the needs of children daily. "We want to make the statement that our family is behind anything that helps bring children's needs to the forefront," says Judy Wellert, the oldest of the Jacobson children, who is executive director of America Sings!, a nationwide music-oriented youth service program based in Alexandria, Va. "I have more resources than many working families, yet I still worry about my children. I worry about the quality of education and having enough money for my sons' future education. I worry about crime and traffic and my children's safety."

Jacobson family photo

The Jacobson family enjoys a recent holiday gathering.

"The generation before us made a tremendous contribution to us as children, and we simply want to carry that to the next generation."

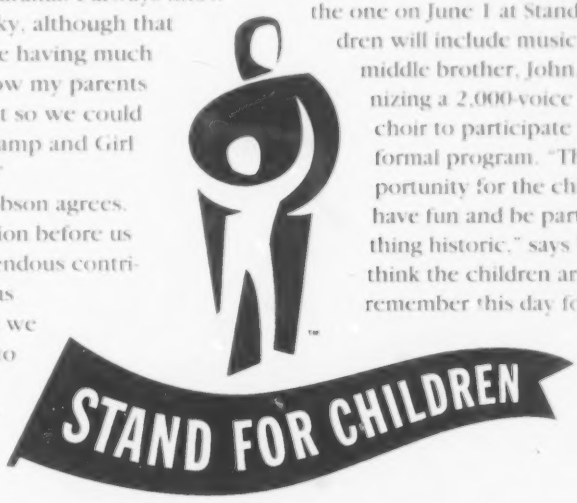
Poverty is too heavily concentrated among children, says Kerry Jacobson, "and in a society as wealthy as ours, we absolutely must provide health care for children."

Wellert says she wants her own sons to grow up feeling as loved and supported as she did. "We had two active, involved parents, who drove us everywhere and made sure we were able to participate in all kinds of activities, such as Girl Scouts, sports, church, and drama. I always knew we were lucky, although that didn't involve having much money. I know my parents went without so we could go to Bible camp and Girl Scout camp."

Kerry Jacobson agrees. "The generation before us made a tremendous contribution to us as children, and we simply want to carry that to the next generation," he says. "There's no better place to do that than at Stand For Children."

To stand up for children's needs—their own children's and others'—the Jacobson clan, ranging in age from 1 to 66, has chartered a 47-passenger bus that will leave Little Falls on May 30 and pick up friends and neighbors along the way in Wisconsin, Illinois, and Michigan. The Jacobson bus will roll into Washington, D.C., bearing its own banner, says Kerry Jacobson.

Like most Jacobson family reunions, the one on June 1 at Stand For Children will include music. Judy and middle brother, John, are organizing a 2,000-voice children's choir to participate in the day's formal program. "This is an opportunity for the children to have fun and be part of something historic," says Wellert. "I think the children are going to remember this day for the rest of their lives."



Special Report

Children's Sabbaths

Taking action to meet children's needs

A little more than two years ago, parents in Monahans, Texas, were having difficulty finding child care. The tiny rural town of 8,000 had no full-day child care centers and no licensed child care facilities, so working parents had to scramble to find babysitters they could trust.

Enter the 70 members of First Presbyterian Church. "We looked around our community," says the Rev. Rebecca Davis, "and said, 'What does this community need that we can give, with our limited resources?' The answer was clear." Under Davis' direction, the church started a state-licensed child care program, which now provides a safe harbor for 108 children each day. "The Children's Sabbaths heightened awareness of our congregational commitment to children and allowed us to merge our daily mission with worship," says Davis, now the associate executive presbyter at Peace River Presbytery in North Port, Fla. "We have a responsibility to take care of the children God has entrusted to us."

Photo © Nita Winter

This fall, thousands of religious congregations like Monahans' First Presbyterian Church are expected to commit to doing more for children, as they join in the 1996 National Observance of Children's Sabbaths, October 18–20. The Children's Sabbaths unite congregations and communities across the nation in a simultaneous interfaith witness for children, during a weekend of special worship services, education programs, and fun, hands-on activities.

"Our Children's Sabbath service was a positive, empowering experience," says Rabbi Harvey Winokur, Co-chair of the Atlanta Interfaith Commission and an executive committee member of the Atlanta/Fulton Commission on Children and Youth. Winokur in 1995 helped local teens plan and lead an interfaith service at the downtown shopping arcade, Underground Atlanta. "It was a wonderful feeling," he recalls, "to see the power of youth, the rich variety of cultural experience, and the excitement that we could come together and do something for children."

Rosemary Matthews, who is an associate at Philadelphia Citizens for Children and Youth, and has helped plan Children's Sabbath events in the city for the past two years, says the Children's Sabbaths give her hope that people can set aside their differences. "We all look different, we worship differently, we're tall, we're fat, we're short, we're Black, White, Indian, and Asian," says Matthews. "Yet there is a basic thread that runs through all of us. The Children's Sabbaths help us bring everybody together to share and celebrate the commonality that we are all created by God."

Focus on children's needs

The Children's Sabbaths were initiated by CDF in 1992, in cooperation with many denominations and religious groups, to inform and involve congregations in the vital role they can play

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Taking action

(Continued from page 5)

in advocating for children. Traditionally, the Children's Sabbaths are held the third weekend in October, although congregations unable to participate on that weekend are encouraged to select an alternate date. Many congregations hold celebrations within their own church, synagogue, or mosque, while others collaborate on community-wide interfaith services.

"The Children's Sabbaths allow us to focus on children in need," says the Rev. Paul Hardwick, pastor of First Baptist Church in Racine, Wis., who invited a local circuit court judge to speak during the sermon time at his congregation's Children's Sabbath celebration. "It's too easy for us to forget those children are out there. We need to listen to children more and show them church is a safe place."

Churches, synagogues, and mosques also can be where children learn values and ethics, says Winokur. "With those strengths, young people become moral leaders as adults."

The Rev. Glen Allison, executive director of the San Diego Ecumenical Council, agrees. "Congregations have the resources and a cadre of volunteers, particularly seniors, who can help address children's needs, such as after-school programs."

"The Children's Sabbath has received tremendous positive feedback in our community. We hope to continue to plant seeds that will not fall on barren land."

—Evelyn LaFollette, First United Methodist Church, Bloomington, Ind.

Mary Cameron, program director of the Task Force on Children, Youth, and Families at the Church Council of Greater Seattle, likes the fact that the Children's Sabbaths focus on the value of childhood. "The Children's Sabbath shows children that they are essential and can be given responsibility, no matter what age they are."

In 1995, congregations were encouraged to use the Children's Sabbaths to focus on the incidence and effects of child poverty in the United States. Between 15,000 and 20,000 congregations participated, says CDF Children's Sabbaths Coordinator Susan Willhauck.

"The ideas that congregations came up with to help children living in poverty in their communities were simply amazing," says Willhauck. "A large number of congregations collected food, clothing, household supplies, toys, or money. Many congregations engaged in child advocacy, educating congregants and political leaders about the effects of poverty on children's futures. One church I know of asked mothers to tell their personal stories about what it's like to raise children on a low income."

In Philadelphia, congregations collected pennies for a "Pennies Against Poverty" campaign. Midway through the interfaith service at Arch Street United Methodist Church, children and adults from 25 denominations proceeded to the altar and deposited their pennies in three enormous soup pots.

"The march never ended," says Matthews. "After a while, the pots overflowed, so we pressed some boxes into action, and they also overflowed onto the floor. Pennies were everywhere." More than $2,100 was collected at the service for the Philadelphia Food Bank, and another $400 in pennies trickled in after the Children's Sabbath.

The Church Council of Greater Seattle—participating in the Children's Sabbaths for the first time—organized a progressive walk through the city's Central District. About 150 people from 40 different congregations visited the county juvenile detention center, public health building, and a community center. At each stop there was music, an invocation, and remarks from community leaders, including a Seattle city councilwoman.

"We must refuse to be silent when our children are imperiled."

—The Rev. Walter Burghardt, Woodstock Theological Center, Washington, D.C.

"The purpose was to educate people about the important services provided at the agencies and to honor the children that were there," says Cameron. "We wanted those who attended to take the information back to their congregations and agencies where they work, and pledge to continue working for children."

In 1996—a presidential election year—the suggested Children's Sabbaths theme is "Stand For Children: Pray, Speak Out, and Act." Congregations will be encouraged to focus on the importance of participating in the civic life of the community, state, and nation. "We want people of faith—particularly young worshipers—to understand that they must live out their faith in the public arena," says CDF Director of Religious Affairs Shannon Daley-Harris. "Responsible citizenship calls for informed, intelligent, and conscientious participation in public life in order to further the reign of God." (See A Voice for Children, page 3.)

Turning prayer into action

The Children's Sabbaths aim to motivate churches, synagogues, and mosques to generate long-term action for children. "Religious congregations

(See page 8)

Special Report

Organizing a Children's Sabbath

It's time to begin planning for this year's Children's Sabbaths celebration, says CDF Director of Religious Affairs Shannon Daley-Harris. In fact, many congregations already are holding regular planning meetings.

The 1996 National Observance of Children's Sabbaths will begin with evening services in synagogues and mosques on Friday, October 18, and conclude with church and interfaith services on Sunday, October 20. Congregations can order booklets from CDF to plan celebrations for Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish congregations. A multifaith booklet that provides Native American, Muslim, and Spanish-language resources also is available.

Each resource booklet includes suggestions for planning a Children's Sabbath; sermon/homily resources, prayers, poems, litanies, quotations, and reflections; photocopy-ready bulletin inserts; a sample news release; lesson plans and activity ideas for children, teens, and adults; suggestions for follow-up actions; and a list of useful books. The lesson plans in the booklet are age-specific, says Daley-Harris, and are tailored to fit in with the theme of the 1996 Children's Sabbaths: "Stand For Children: Pray, Speak Out, and Act."

"We're encouraging congregations to get involved with nonpartisan voter registration, to hold forums where local political leaders of all parties and persuasions can discuss community issues, or to arrange visits with political leaders to discuss children's needs," says Daley-Harris.

The religious community is sometimes scared by the word *advocacy*, acknowledges Mary Cameron, program director of the Task Force on Children, Youth, and Families at the Church Council of Greater Seattle. But, she says, it's important for congregations to understand the term in its broadest sense. "People need to know that most of what they do routinely on behalf of their children, families, neighbors, and friends is advocacy," says Cameron. "You don't have to be a legislative expert. People just need to care enough to get involved and speak up."

For more information about the Children's Sabbaths, contact CDF's Religious Affairs Division, 202-662-3589. To order Children's Sabbath resource booklets, use the coupon below. Call for rates for bulk orders.

Children's Sabbath Resource Booklet Order Form

Name: _____

Address: _____

_____

City/State/Zip: _____

Telephone: _____ Fax: _____ E-Mail: _____

Church/Synagogue/Mosque: _____
(if not part of address)

Please send resource booklet(s) for (indicate version and quantity):

❑ Protestant churches _____ ❑ Catholic parishes _____

❑ Jewish congregations _____ ❑ Multi-Faith _____

Did your congregation observe a Children's Sabbath last year? ❑ Yes ❑ No

For one booklet, please include $5. For 2-5, send $8. For 6-10, send $10. For more than 10 booklets, call 202-662-3589.

Please complete this form and mail in an envelope with payment to: Children's Sabbath, P.O. Box 90500, Washington, DC 20090-0500.

More ideas for celebrating the Children's Sabbath

- A Children's Sabbath "unity run" was held in Cincinnati. About 500 teenagers started running from various parts of the city, meeting at a centrally located church for an interfaith service.
- In New York City, religious groups and child advocacy organizations from the Upper West Side organized a march and street party after an interfaith service at St. John the Divine.
- Indiana Advocates For Children organized a Children's Sabbath rally and interfaith service on the city square in Indianapolis. The group also sponsored a children's lobby day, so local children could visit the State House and talk with legislators.
- Maryland congregations gave handmade cardboard dolls to elected officials and community leaders, to symbolize children in the state who are not receiving the education, health care, or nurturing they need. To make the connection to real children living in Maryland, Advocates for Children and Youth in Baltimore attached to each doll the story of a real child.
- The young people at the Cornerstone Reorganized Church of Latter-Day Saints in Independence, Mo., created a drama and slide show and presented it during its Children's Sabbath service.
- At North Park College in Chicago, the campus Urban Outreach set up a "giving tree." Students and professors selected cards from the tree to find out what food and clothing items children at the local homeless shelter needed. They then purchased the gifts and set them at the base of the tree.
- The children of Dantzler Memorial First United Methodist Church in Moss Point, Miss., collected money and bought three cribs, which they donated to the Crane Memorial Youth Shelter.
- Congregation Children of Israel in Augusta, Ga., invited a social worker to speak at the Children's Sabbath service, and describe the needs of children in the local community.
- St. John's United Church of Christ in Troy, Ohio, sponsored a "mother's day out" for mothers at a family abuse shelter. Congregants provided activities and tutoring for the children so the mothers could have some time for themselves.
- Six churches in Durham, N.C., are working with three community organizations to plan and implement a teen pregnancy prevention program.
- All Saints Episcopal Church in Pasadena, Calif., operates a midnight basketball program for young people who might otherwise have nowhere else to go and end up on the street.
- Agudas Achim Synagogue in Addlesboro, Mass., helps support its local teen center, and congregants volunteer in the Big Brother/Big Sister program.

Taking action

(Continued from page 6)

have really taken this charge to heart," says Daley-Harris. "More than 50 percent of the religious groups we surveyed after the 1995 Children's Sabbaths said they started a new project for children. That is really inspiring."

Cameron's group in Seattle, for example, initiated ChildNet, a network of advocates that provides education about children's issues, promotes and supports direct services for children, and speaks with a united voice on behalf of children and young people. Participating congregations agree to take at least one action for children during a one-year period. They can select from a list of 28 suggested actions, including sponsoring a parent-

"The decisions and policies we make will shape the world that our children and our children's children will inherit."

—Rabbi David Saperstein, Religious Action Center for Reform Judaism, Washington, D.C.

ing class, organizing a day to write to political leaders, or holding a special service focusing on children's needs.

St. Paul's United Church of Christ in Henderson, Minn., collects teddy bears and gives them to local hospitals and ambulance squads to comfort children experiencing trauma. Pilgrim Congregational Church in Cleveland, Ohio, is training young people in peer counseling. And St. Peter's Episcopal Church in Bennington, Vt., joined with a middle school to develop after-school activities for middle school students.

"Children need adults to listen to them and to stand up for them," says Daley-Harris. "The future of children—and our country—depends on congregations caring enough to become involved and take steps to make a difference."

Special Report

South Carolina grandmother spreads the word

Dot Wise sees her involvement with the National Observance of Children's Sabbaths as a calling from above.

When Wise, the 1994 president of the South Carolina Women of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ELCA), was looking for a keynote conference speaker, three people suggested she call CDF President Marian Wright Edelman. That same day, Wise was inspired to purchase Edelman's book *The Measure of Our Success*, and as she began to read, Edelman appeared on CNN, speaking about the importance of the Children's Sabbaths.

Soon thereafter, says Wise, her destiny was sealed when she heard Edelman speak about the Children's Sabbaths at Columbia Bibie College. "I was hooked," says Wise, a 78-year-old grandmother of six. "I said, 'Okay, God, I've heard the message. I'll do everything I can.' "

The Children's Sabbath message, says Wise, was one she had long been waiting to hear. A retired high school guidance counselor, she had often seen poor, abused, and neglected children. "I was very concerned about the future of our children," says Wise. "We need to get back to morals and values and get children growing right. If we don't do something for these children, what will the next generation be like?"

Wise persuaded the South Carolina Women's ELCA board to give her $200 for materials to start promoting the Children's Sabbaths. However, says Wise, God works in mysterious ways. "Our goal was to reach 164 Lutheran churches in South Carolina," says Wise. "But the bishop said, 'No, this is too good. We ought to share it. Let's go statewide.' "

With help from the state's Christian Action Council, composed of the heads of 45 denominations, Wise mailed out letters to religious leaders about the Children's Sabbaths. She included a phone number for ordering Children's Sabbath materials.

The ELCA women began distributing material about the Children's Sabbaths in their own communities. They placed information about the event in local publications and church bulletins. Wise began carting around a Children's Sabbath display that she used in speaking to various community groups.

As a result, in 1994, more than 600 packets of Children's Sabbath materials were sent to South Carolina, says Wise. And in 1995, at least 800 Children's Sabbaths resource booklets were distributed in the state.

In 1995, the ELCA began planning early, forming a steering committee in Greenwood. "I had five different denominations represented on the committee, and we decided that we would each take two other denominations and work over the state to the best of our ability," says Wise.

The ELCA women also decided to use their limited funds to pay for the postage and handling of hundreds of Children's Sabbath booklets. "We all carried the booklets around in our cars, so when we talked to people, we could just hand them one, rather than telling them where to call for information," says Wise. "The booklets are wonderful. There's something for everybody, and the information can be used on the weekend of the Children's Sabbaths or at other times during the year."

Wise advises other advocates who want to promote the Children's Sabbath to look everywhere for opportunities to spread the word. One evening, she introduced herself at a restaurant to a young man who turned out to be the new editor of Greenwood's daily, the *Index-Journal*. "I told him about the Children's Sabbaths and said that it sure would be nice if we could have an editorial about them." Wise got her editorial—and a front-page article. A man from Ohio, whom Wise met at a ministry meeting, took a booklet home and organized his own Children's Sabbath.

"Our diocese joined together in prayer and action to create new hope for children living in poverty."

—Pat Perry, Catholic Diocese of Memphis, Memphis, Tenn.

"You *can* make a difference," says Wise. "It takes help to make a difference, but somebody has to start it, and that person can be you.

"There's so much that retired people can do to help children," says Wise. "I get so much out of the Children's Sabbaths. It's the personal satisfaction of having done something for your community—and for children."

Special Report

Children's Sabbaths planning, month by month

May/June

- Order a "Pray, Speak Out, and Act" Children's Sabbaths resource booklet. Distribute information to appropriate persons.
- Secure approval from the appropriate clergy, staff, or committee to hold a Children's Sabbath observance. Arrange to have the date of the Children's Sabbaths, as well as the date of local, state, and national elections, placed on your congregation's calendar.
- Recruit a committee to plan Children's Sabbath activities. In addition to clergy and staff, ask teachers, service providers, children, teens, and parents to help. Explain why it's critical that people of faith advocate for children.
- Decide on the basic format of your Children's Sabbath. Talk about ways to use the day to increase civic responsibility in your congregation.
- Recruit volunteers to help prepare for and carry out Children's Sabbath activities, such as voter registration drives, voter education forums, and get-out-the-vote efforts.
- Discuss building on your Children's Sabbath to develop long-term responses to the needs of children and families.

July/August

- Place a bulletin insert announcing the Children's Sabbath in your bulletin or newsletter, along with an article about how communities can take action for children in this election year. Continue placing announcements every other week, leading up to the Children's Sabbath.
- In August, send information about the Children's Sabbath to your newspaper's community calendar. Follow up with a phone call to the calendar editors.
- Display posters announcing the Children's Sabbath.
- Share your ideas about how to make a difference for children through the Children's Sabbaths with other congregations. If you have access to Ecunet, the online ecumenical computer network, you can find new ways to raise awareness about the importance of speaking out and taking action for children through its Children's Sabbaths bulletin board.

September

- Ask the clergy or a person on the planning committee to announce Children's Sabbath events at services. Ask that he or she explain this year's theme and stress the importance of voting with children in mind in the November election.
- Hang mural paper in a fellowship hall and invite members of all ages to write prayers and essays about children's needs. Ask someone to compile the prayers and have children in the congregation read them during the Children's Sabbath service.
- Compile a list of candidates in your area and make it available to congregants, along with information about the candidates' views on children's issues. There are special rules for tax-exempt groups. For more information, ask the National Coalition on Black Voter Participation to send you *Political Activities of Charitable Organizations*. Free. 202-659-4929.
- Teach songs to sing on the Children's Sabbath.

September (cont'd.)

- Tailor CDF's sample Children's Sabbath press release (in the resource booklet) to meet your congregation's needs. Send it to the religion editors of your local newspapers, and to the news directors at your local radio and television stations.
- Visit your local elected and appointed representatives and public officials and urge them to make children a top public priority. Invite them to your Children's Sabbath service so they can learn more about the needs of children.
- Place fliers about the Children's Sabbath and the importance of voting in store windows, and on car windshields after services. Construct a sign for your yard.
- Find out from your local board of elections how your congregation can set up a nonpartisan registration table at an upcoming event and help register citizens to vote. A member may be a registrar, or may wish to become one; or the board of elections may send a registrar to your event.

Children's Sabbath Weekend, October 18–20

Now is when all of your planning and organizing will bear fruit. The following are some ideas you may want to consider for your Children's Sabbath celebration:

- Invite a service provider or children's advocate to talk with your congregation about one or two urgent needs in your community, such as child care or prenatal care, as did Asbury United Methodist Church in Washington, D.C. Discuss what your congregation can do to help.
- Set up a "boat" in your fellowship hall inscribed with the prayer, "Dear Lord, be good to me, the sea is so wide and my boat is so small." Invite everyone to fill up the boat with nonperishable food items to be donated to a food distribution center. Knox Presbyterian Church in Naperville, Ill., did this and had younger children share with others what they had learned.
- Hold an art activity fair, as St. Paul's United Church of Christ did in Columbus, Ohio. Children from the neighborhood who did not regularly attend the church were invited to engage in art activities, such as woodworking, sculpting, necklace-making, and painting.
- Use an instant camera to take pictures of all the children and young people in your congregation and display the pictures. Tyrone United Presbyterian Church in McDonald, Pa., took pictures and created a "frame" for each picture by printing on colored paper, "Children are a gift of God. At Tyrone Church we are grateful for the gift that you are to us."

November

- Convene your Children's Sabbath committee and follow up your Children's Sabbath celebration with thank-you notes and other expressions of appreciation to all those who helped make it a success. The Greater Dallas Community of Churches developed a report form to send to area churches, to track where events were held.
- Send the evaluation of your Children's Sabbath (in your resource booklet) to CDF so that we know how your congregation advocated for children.
- Speak out for children in civic settings, for example, school board meetings, city council and neighborhood meetings, and local budget hearings.
- Initiate one new program that meets the needs of children in your community, such as child care, after-school programs, tutoring, counseling, or conflict resolution.

December

- As you pray, speak out, and act for children in your daily life, begin talking about activities for your 1997 Children's Sabbath celebration in your congregation.
- Spread the word about the 1997 Children's Sabbath among other congregations!

FY 1996 Appropriations

Children hurt by cuts

After unusually prolonged wrangling, the final FY 1996 appropriations bill was passed by Congress in late April—seven months after the fiscal year began. Overall, cuts in children's services are "not as deep as congressional majority leaders originally proposed," says CDF Director of Government Affairs Eileen Sweeney. "However, funding is still down significantly from FY 1995, and Congress showed little interest in investing in children and their future."

Advocates should be proud of their work to help avert some of the most devastating congressional proposals of FY 1996, says Sweeney. But the FY 1997 appropriations fight is in full swing. "Advocates must continue to work diligently this year, to restore the losses in funding to children's services and to stop further cuts, or millions of children and their families will be hurt for years to come." The best way to impress upon members that cuts they make hurt children, she says, is to show them how children in their congressional districts and states will be affected.

The 1996 budget includes severe cuts in services for abused and neglected children, says Sweeney. The budget does maintain funding for a number of other important programs, although without increases large enough to keep up with inflation. These programs include Head Start, Job Corps, Title I Compensatory Education, and Safe and Drug-Free Schools. Congress funded the Goals 2000 initiative to help communities raise academic standards but cut back on the level of funding and dropped some important rules on how the money can be spent. Congress also restored most of the funding for Summer Youth Employment, which was threatened with elimination.

Violence prevention programs such as Community Schools, authorized by Congress in October 1994 to keep children safe after school and during the summer, were not funded at all for FY 1996, after suffering deep rescissions in FY 1995. Nonetheless, billions of dollars from the same crime trust fund from which the prevention programs were to be funded were appropriated for prisons and law enforcement. The Youth Fair Chance program, which focuses on job training for older youths and young adults, also was not funded. And the bill dramatically limits federal courts' ability to provide relief when bad conditions in juvenile detention facilities are challenged.

On the other hand, Congress appropriated $503 million for a Local Law Enforcement Block Grant, which technically does not exist in law. In February, the House passed a bill to repeal the crime prevention programs in the 1994 crime law, but the Senate has not yet acted on that bill. Some of the funds were to be allocated to the new block grant for law enforcement, including police and courts, and for local communities to use for prevention programs for children. "Congress should not walk away from targeting meaningful prevention funds directly to children," says Sweeney. "Yet children's advocates should seize this opportunity to persuade *local* officials to use these block grant funds for after-school and summer prevention programs for children."

FY 1996 appropriations for selected children's programs ($ in millions)

	FY 1995	FY 1996	$ Difference (%)
Head Start	3,534	3,570	+35.7 (+1%)
Child Care and Development Block Grant	934.6	934.6	0
Dependent Care Block Grant	12.8	0	–12.8 (–100%)
Title I	5,968.2	5,985.8	+17.6 (+0.2%)
Goals 2000	371.9	350	–21.9 (–5.9%)
Safe and Drug-Free Schools	466.0	466.0	0
Social Services Block Grant	2,800	2,381	– 419.0 (–15%)
Child Welfare Services (Title IV-B, Subpart I)	292.0	277.4	–14.6 (–5%)
Community-Based Family Resource Program	31.4	23.0	–8.4 (–27%)
Juvenile Justice	144.0	144.0	0
Job Corps	1,089.2	1,093.9	+4.7 (+0.4%)
Summer Youth Employment	867	625.0	–242 (–28%)
Youth Fair Chance	25	0	–25 (–100%)
Ounce of Prevention	1.5	1.5	0
Community Schools	10*	0	–10 (–100%)

*Was originally $25.90 million for FY 95, but was reduced to $10 million in 1995 rescission bill.

Federal poverty guidelines

Below are the federal poverty guidelines for Fiscal Year 1996—household income levels below which individuals and families are considered poor.

These figures underscore the inadequacy of the federal minimum wage, now set at $4.25 per hour. A single parent with two children, working 40 hours a week at the minimum wage for 50 weeks of the year, still would earn only $8,500—well below the $12,980 poverty level for a family of three, and even further below the poverty levels in Alaska and Hawaii.

Although the federal poverty line is uniform throughout the nation (except for Alaska and Hawaii), the poverty-relief benefits paid under Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) vary dramatically from state to state. For a single parent with two children in Tennessee, for example, AFDC and food stamp benefits amount to only 47 percent of the poverty level; for a similar family in Connecticut, the benefits total 85 percent of poverty. In no state, however, do combined AFDC and food stamp benefits bring family income all the way up to the federal poverty line.

1996 Federal Poverty Guidelines

Size of Family	48 Contiguous States & District of Columbia	Alaska	Hawaii
1	$ 7,740	$ 9,660	$ 8,910
2	10,360	12,940	11,920
3	12,980	16,220	14,930
4	15,600	19,500	17,940
5	18,220	22,780	20,950
6	20,840	26,060	23,960
7	23,460	29,340	26,970
8	26,080	32,620	29,980

Typical state income levels

For each fiscal year, the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) estimates the typical, or median, income for a four-person family in every state. The state median income is used to calculate some types of federal assistance for housing, home heating and cooling, and child care.

Estimated State Median Income for Four-Person Families, Fiscal Year 1997

State	Income	Rank	State	Income	Rank	State	Income	Rank
Alabama	$ 41,730	41	Louisiana	39,734	44	Oklahoma	38,787	46
Alaska	53,555	7	Maine	42,647	37	Oregon	44,432	31
Arizona	41,599	42	Maryland	57,951	4	Pennsylvania	49,120	16
Arkansas	36,510	51	Massachusetts	58,695	3	Rhode Island	51,709	11
California	48,755	20	Michigan	51,342	13	South Carolina	43,556	34
Colorado	48,801	19	Minnesota	51,996	9	South Dakota	42,964	36
Connecticut	62,107	1	Mississippi	37,003	50	Tennessee	42,132	40
Delaware	55,049	6	Missouri	44,266	33	Texas	42,570	38
District of Columbia	52,015	8	Montana	39,219	45	Utah	44,871	29
Florida	45,374	35	Nebraska	45,497	26	Vermont	46,320	25
Georgia	45,093	27	Nevada	47,929	22	Virginia	49,453	15
Hawaii	56,992	5	New Hampshire	51,491	12	Washington	48,932	18
Idaho	41,208	43	New Jersey	60,697	2	West Virginia	38,357	47
Illinois	51,951	10	New Mexico	37,170	49	Wisconsin	48,982	17
Indiana	47,212	23	New York	50,964	14	Wyoming	47,961	21
Iowa	45,062	28	North Carolina	44,582	30	**United States**	47,012	n/a
Kansas	44,409	32	North Dakota	42,222	39			
Kentucky	37,984	48	Ohio	46,848	24			

Source: Federal Register, March 19, 1996, Volume 61, No. 54, pages 11212-11214. Rankings by CDF.

Note: HHS has changed the date for adoption of the state median income estimates to make it consistent with the adoption date for the federal poverty income guidelines. Therefore, the state median income estimates are effective at any time between their publication on March 19, 1996, and October 1, 1996, or, in the case of LIHEAP grantees, by the beginning of their fiscal year, whichever is later.

Short Takes

Foster care and housing problems

Child welfare staff and caseworkers need more guidance and training on how a family's homelessness or inadequate housing should figure into a decision to remove a child from his or her parents, says a recent report on housing and foster care by the American Public Welfare Association (APWA). An APWA survey of 270 local and 42 state offices of public child welfare agencies found that only 22 percent of local child welfare agencies give their staffs special training on housing issues.

At least 60 percent of the local child welfare agencies surveyed said that according to agency policy or state law, a child cannot be placed in foster care because of homelessness or inadequate housing alone. But within many states, the researchers found, there was disagreement among counties regarding those responses.

About one-third of the local agencies said they didn't know how many children in their current caseloads had entered foster care or could not be reunified with their parents because of inadequate housing or homelessness, either as the sole factor or with other factors. Agencies that do keep such records reported that a total of 58,000 children were placed in care at least in part because of inadequate housing.

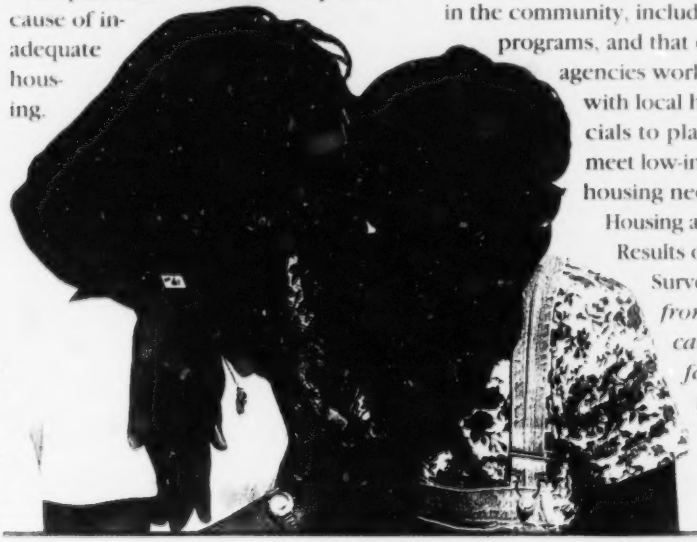

Photo © Harry Cutting

Based on its survey findings, APWA also recommended that child welfare staff and caseworkers learn more about all available housing assistance programs in the community, including nonfederal programs, and that child welfare agencies work more closely with local housing officials to plan strategies to meet low-income families' housing needs.

Housing and Foster Care: Results of a National Survey *is available from the American Public Welfare Association for $10. Call 202-682-0100.*

Child Poverty Among Ethnic Groups

Poverty status of persons younger than 18, by ethnicity and race, 1994
(Numbers in thousands)

	All Incomes	Below Poverty Line	Percent Below Poverty Line
Total	70,020	15,289	21.8%
White	55,186	9,346	16.9
Non-Hispanic White	46,668	5,823	12.5
Black	11,211	4,906	43.8
Asian/Pacific Islander	1,739	318	18.3
Hispanic*	9,822	4,075	41.5
Mexican	6,860	2,891	42.1
Puerto Rican	974	496	50.9

Puerto Rican children living on the United States mainland are more likely to be poor than any other children in America. According to newly released unpublished data from the U.S. Census Bureau on child poverty among ethnic groups, more than half of all Puerto Rican children on the mainland live below the poverty line.

*In the Census Bureau's terms, Hispanic is an ethnicity, not a race. Persons of Hispanic origin may be of any race. Data refer to children living in the mainland U.S.

Numbers do not sum to totals because some racial and ethnic groups are not shown, and because of rounding.

Children losing mothers to AIDS

The climbing death rates for women infected with the HIV virus mean that more and more children are in danger of losing their mothers to AIDS. An estimated 80,000 HIV-infected women of childbearing age were alive in 1992, according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC). If these women die in this decade, says the CDC, they will leave behind some 125,000 to 150,000 children.

The HIV virus is now the third leading cause of death for women between the ages of 25 and 44 and the leading cause of death for Black women in that age group. AIDS accounts for 22 percent of the deaths of 25- to 44-year-old Black women.

Day of Action Against Violence promotes ballots over bullets

On April 4, the third annual National Day of Action Against Violence, the Black Student Leadership Network (BSLN), in conjunction with the Safe Start Campaign, launched a nationwide campaign called "Choosing the Ballot Over the Bullet."

The campaign aims to register Black and other young adult voters for the November election, and to educate young adults about gun violence and violence prevention initiatives. "Choosing the Ballot Over the Bullet" was announced at mass meetings in 18 cities across the nation, including Boston, Baltimore, Md., and Bennettsville, S.C.

BSLN field organizers and the Safe Start Campaign of the Black Community Crusade for Children (BCCC) worked with students, community activists, and religious congregations to coordinate the April 4 meetings and events. Young people were asked to sponsor voter registration drives and voter education seminars. In West Oakland, Calif., and New Haven, Conn., students held "heal-ins," during which they slumped to the ground every two minutes from the "shot" of a toy gun, to symbolize the fact that an American child is killed every 92 minutes by gun violence. The students also set up tables to register voters.

The "Choosing the Ballot Over the Bullet" campaign also includes a new civics education curriculum, "Citizenship 2000," designed to encourage young people to become more engaged in civic life and to show teens how they can shape public policies that affect education, housing, health care, and public safety.

The National Day of Action Against Violence is part of BSLN's continuing commitment to honor the nonviolent legacy of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. The day is observed on the anniversary of Dr. King's assassination.

*For more information, contact **Thomas Bowen** at 202-662-3796 or **Wesley Mallette** at 202-662-3555.*

Beat the Odds

Several of this year's Los Angeles Beat the Odds honorees—high school students who have overcome such obstacles as poverty, violence, physical disability, and family illness to achieve personal and academic success—were among the runners carrying the Olympic Torch out of Los Angeles on April 27 at the start of its 15,000-mile cross-country journey to Atlanta for the summer games.

The Olympic Torch Run capped off the April 26 Beat the Odds Youth Leadership Award presentation at the Directors Guild of America. NBC 4 weathercaster **Christopher Nance**, actress **Jackie Guerra**, "Lifestyles of the Rich and Famous" reporter **Mary Major-Jack**, radio and television commentator **Tavis Smiley**, Nordstrom Regional Manager **Rick Chilcott**, and NBC 4 news anchor **Wendy Tokuda** joined CDF President **Marian Wright Edelman** in recognizing: **Ginger Childs**, of Jordan High School; **Damon Johnson**, of Ganesha High School; **Ana Zulma Machuca**, of John F. Kennedy High School; **Danielle J. McDaniels**, of Locke High School; and **Veronica Quintana**, of Bell High School.

In Minnesota on April 18, five high school seniors from the St. Paul–Minneapolis area were honored at the fourth annual CDF/Pillsbury Beat the Odds Leadership Awards celebration at the Minneapolis Hilton and Towers. The emcee for the evening was KARE-TV anchor **Pat Miles**, and the presenters included Minneapolis Mayor **Sharon Sayles Belton** and St. Paul Mayor **Norm Coleman**.

Awards went to: **Alicia Frosch**, of Mall of America School; **Sara Hodgin**, of Central High School; **Sirena Lopez**, of Humboldt Complex; **Shirley Reynolds**, of Washburn High School; and **Song Thor**, of Harding High School.

Each Beat the Odds honoree receives a scholarship and a summer internship, among other gifts.

More than 300 CDF friends and family members attended a premiere benefit performance of "The Witness Cantata," in Washington, D.C., on Good Friday, April 5. The performance raised more than $37,000 for CDF.

"The Witness Cantata" was composed by U.S. Ambassador to Austria **Swanee Hunt**. Like other works commemorating Good Friday, Hunt's composition was inspired by the seven last words of Christ. Although the piece is theologically grounded, it is unique because its texts are drawn from a variety of secular writers, including poets William Blake and Anna Ahkmatova, and Holocaust chronicler Elie Wiesel.

CDF-Ohio Director **Mark Real** is one of three recipients of the Kent State University President's Social Responsibility Award. The awards are presented annually to individuals or organizations that have helped to advance Black Americans.

3 Facts

you should know about childhood immunization

1. About 39,000 clinics and doctors' offices offer free vaccines to eligible children, under the Vaccines for Children (VFC) program.

2. Every dollar spent immunizing children through VFC will save an estimated $8.80 in later health care costs.

3. About 73 percent of 19- to 35-month-olds were fully immunized in 1994.

See page 1 for more information.

CDF Reports

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Key steps for children

Action	Status (as of May 15, 1996)
Entitlements. Preserve guaranteed funding for AFDC, food stamps, foster care and adoption assistance, child nutrition, Medicaid, SSI, and child support enforcement.	H.R. 4, vetoed by the President in January, would have gutted the AFDC entitlement, only partially retained the entitlement to child protection services, and cut SSI for children, food stamps, and child nutrition programs. H.R. 4 provisions, along with language to repeal the Medicaid entitlement, also had been part of the budget reconciliation bill previously vetoed by the President. In February, the governors proposed entitlement changes similar to those vetoed. House and Senate budget resolutions assume cuts of $53 billion in welfare and $72 billion in Medicaid. Congress may consider a bill in late May or June.
Welfare reform. Expand job opportunities, increase the minimum wage, offer child care help, improve child support, and reject attempts to deny aid to families with no other means of subsistence.	
Head Start and child care. Expand funding for Head Start and for child care programs for low-income working families.	H.R. 4 inadequately funded child care and weakened child care standards. Decisions for FY 1997 Head Start funding may be made soon.
Health care reform. Extend affordable health care coverage to all children and pregnant women.	In addition to eliminating the Medicaid and AFDC entitlements, the vetoed budget reconciliation bill, H.R. 2491, would have repealed the EPSDT and Vaccines for Children programs. In a positive step, the Senate and House have passed bills (S. 1028, H.R. 3103) to protect families against denial of insurance coverage for pre-existing conditions. Extraneous amendments, if preserved in conference, may provoke the President's veto.
Juvenile justice and violence prevention. Reauthorize the Juvenile Justice Delinquency Prevention Act (JJDPA), retaining its core protections for children. Fully fund key prevention programs created by the 1994 crime act.	JJDPA hearings under way in House and Senate. A bill is expected this summer. Funds for Community Schools and FACES prevention programs in 1994 crime act were eliminated in FY 1996. Decisions for FY 1997 to be made soon.
Education of children with disabilities. Reauthorize the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA).	Senate Labor Committee has marked up the IDEA reauthorization bill; it awaits Senate floor action. The House EEO subcommittee marked up the bill on April 24.

Call the President!

Urge President Clinton not to sign any welfare or Medicaid "reform" bill that makes more children poor, sick, hungry, or at risk of neglect or abuse.

CDF's legislative hotline tape:
202-662-3678

CDF on the Internet:
http://www.tmn.com/cdf/index.html

Capitol Hill switchboard:
202-224-3121

U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

U.S. Senate
Washington, DC 20510

White House comment line:
202-456-1111
E-mail: president@whitehouse.gov

President Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

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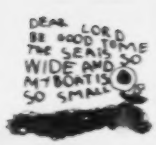


LEAVE NO CHILD BEHIND℠

Children's Defense Fund

CDF Reports

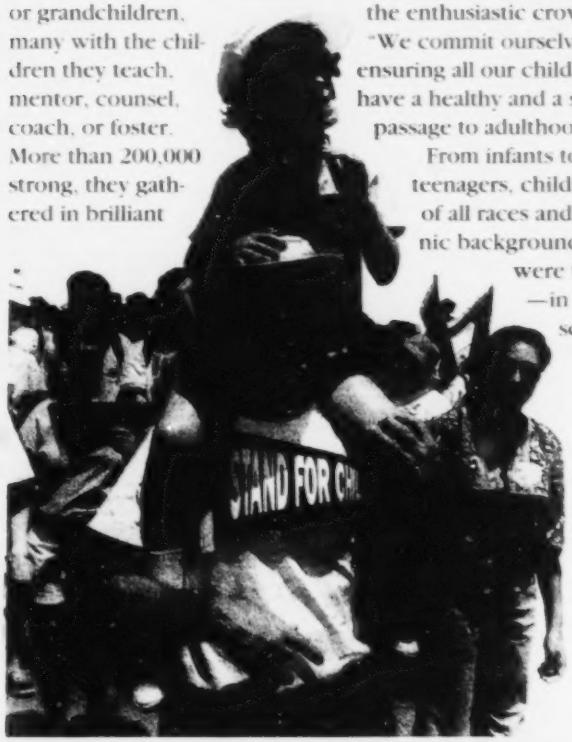
Marian Wright Edelman, President

June/July 1996
Volume 17, Number 7/8

America Stands For Children

They came from as far away as Hawaii, Alaska, and Puerto Rico, and from all points in between. They came in buses, planes, and trains, in their own cars, and on the local subway. They came in ones and twos, in large groups, and as parts of extended families. Many came with their own children or grandchildren, many with the children they teach, mentor, counsel, coach, or foster. More than 200,000 strong, they gathered in brilliant sunshine at the Lincoln Memorial on June 1 to celebrate children and to participate in a historic national day of commitment to improve the lives of America's children.

"We stand today at the Lincoln Memorial to commit ourselves to putting our children first," CDF President Marian Wright Edelman told the enthusiastic crowd. "We commit ourselves to ensuring all our children have a healthy and a safe passage to adulthood."



From infants to teenagers, children of all races and ethnic backgrounds were there—in groups, in strollers and backpacks, hanging onto parents' hands, and playing on the grass, under adults' watchful eyes. It was the children themselves that made the day so extraordinarily moving.

Thousands of children, wearing big smiles and carrying flags and banners, marched exuberantly across the Arlington Memorial Bridge spanning the Potomac River to the Lincoln Memorial. Their arrival at the memorial, greeted by cheers and applause, kicked off the rally.

Onstage in front of the memorial, a 2,000-voice America Sings! children's choir sang, swayed, and clapped out rhythms that soon had the surrounding crowd humming and swaying. Seven children were readers for the interfaith service, and 13-year-old Sammy Levy, from Ohio, introduced Edelman to the crowd before her keynote speech.

Throughout the day, children spoke eloquently about their own lives—both from the podium during the rally and in informal conversations about their participation in the event. "Usually grown-ups speak for their children," 9-year-old Van Kenyon of University City, Mo., told a reporter. "But this is one day where children can speak for themselves."

(See page 2)

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America Stands For Children

(Continued from page 1)

Speaker Priscilla Ramirez, a 15-year-old who lives in a gang-infested housing project in San Ysidro, Calif., did just that. "Violence is an everyday part of life for me, but it isn't okay for kids to grow up this way," Ramirez told the crowd. Ramirez, a member of the Teen Council for the national YWCA, is trying to motivate other children in her community to reach out for a better future.

Many children in the crowd showed a deep understanding of the meaning of the day. "This march should have happened a long time ago," said 15-year-old Megan Jackson of Modesto, Calif. "Children do need help from adults to make the right choices for their lives, and some kids don't get any help at all."

When Tahlia Robinson, 12, of Charleston, S.C., was asked what she thought Stand For Children would accomplish, she said, "What we hope is this will be a wake-up call for the people who run America. Maybe politicians will start to focus on kids."

Eight-year-old Briana King, of Indiana, summed up the message of the day as precisely as any adult could have done. "What this day means," she said, "is grown-ups sticking up for kids, and we *need* somebody to stick up for us."

For the adults in the crowd, the opportunity to demonstrate their concern for children with hundreds of thousands of like-minded others seemed almost too good to be true. Connie Allen, a grandmother from Charlotte, N.C., who tutors children though a program sponsored by her church, said that experiencing the spirit of comradery that permeated the crowd made her feel less isolated. "At home," she explained, "we feel we're alone in what we're trying to do. Here we see that so many people are working hard in the same efforts."

A mother who helped chaperon a van-ful of fifth- through eighth-graders from Morrison School in Philadelphia said, "I never saw such a coming together, lifting the same voice. I think it can accomplish a lot, when people unite for a common cause."

Power in unity

In her impassioned speech ending the day's formal program, Edelman returned again and again to the theme of unity and the power of a common commitment to children. "This is a day about unity and community, not about controversy," she emphasized. "It's about rekindling our children's hope and renewing our faith in each other and in our nation's future. It is about America's ideals, not about any single group's ideology. It is about what we can do and are doing to make a difference for our children.

"We do not stand here advocating big government," said Edelman. "We stand here advocating *just* government." She asked the crowd to "return home and keep standing together for children every day until all America stands with us."

Adults and children alike responded enthusiastically to the call. "When I get back," said 11-year-old Josh Powell from Springfield, Ohio, "I'm going to help other kids in school."

Janis Monroe, a college student from Lafayette, La., said she has never before been so inspired to take action. "Some people have tried to make this a political issue," she said. "I consider myself a conservative, but the issue of kids is neither a conservative nor a liberal issue. It's about time that we start to face facts about the problems this nation faces. Our children need us to stop talking politics and deal with their concerns."

> **"We hope this will be a wake-up call for the people who run America."**
> ***Tahlia Robinson, age 12***

Sarah Loebs Werkman, youth director at All Saints Church in Los Angeles, said she would "take back the messages from all of the amazing speakers, and concentrate on individual acts of love and care. I think [Stand For Children] will light a new spark of local activism. It's the first step toward putting children first."

Larry Mixon, a school superintendent in Columbus, Ohio, said he felt certain that Stand For Children participants from his city would be energized to undertake new efforts for children. "We'll go back to get a community-wide effort going," he said. "We'll do a comprehensive assessment of children's needs, then work with providers and prioritize what to do first."

While scores of Stand For Children participants marveled at the energy and inspiration around them, none seemed more moved than Amy Slameka, who is a new graduate of Michigan State University and will start law school there this fall. "I've been crying all day," she readily admitted. "The day has been so moving. It's made an impact on my whole future. It's helped me decide that I want to be a child advocacy lawyer."

Guilford, N.C., resident Mildred Coley, who works in group homes for troubled young people, seemed to speak for almost everyone in the crowd, be they parents, grandparents, teachers, service providers, youth workers, or simply concerned citizens. Coley said the event gave her the boost she needed to continue her difficult job. "Sometimes you forget what you are doing it for," Coley said. "And then you come to something like this, and you remember all over again."

"APPARENTLY HE FEELS RATHER STRONGLY ABOUT IT."

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A Voice for Children

by Marian Wright Edelman

A heartfelt thanks

You did it!

Stand For Children was a *great* day, and I and millions of Americans were deeply moved by your presence at the Lincoln Memorial on June 1 and by the commitment you made to America's children. In less than five months, you helped mount the largest, most heartfelt demonstration for children in our nation's history. You jump-started a transformation of America that we must now build upon until all of America stands up, as you do, for children.

Stand For Children would not have been possible without the efforts of thousands of individuals and groups from communities all across the country:

- Young people like Tabitha Joy Kulish, a 12-year-old Lancaster, Pa., Girl Scout, who asked businesses in her community to post fliers about Stand For Children in their windows, and staked a sign about the June 1 event in her front yard.
- Parents like Malik Abdullah, of Stone Mountain, Ga., who mobilized enough people in his community to fill three buses that traveled to Stand For Children.
- Grandparents like Henry Bird, who gathered Stand For Children endorsements from religious organizations in Cundy Harbor, Maine.
- Children's advocates like Mike Roach of Voices for Illinois Children, who worked doggedly to coordinate Stand For Children media interviews in the Chicago area.
- Businesspeople, such as the folks at the Mystic Hilton Hotel in Mystic, Conn., who provided food and blankets to every Stand For Children bus rider from New London County.
- Religious leaders like those from All Saints Episcopal Church in Pasadena, Calif., who organized candy sales and carwashes to raise money to bring young people to Stand For Children so they could witness history firsthand.
- Children's Action Teams like those in Ann Arbor, Mich., that held regular meetings and built a base of support for children that will set the stage for follow-up work to improve children's lives.
- And the 3,700 endorsing organizations that rallied their memberships, published articles about Stand For Children in their newsletters and magazines, volunteered countless employee hours, and offered financial support.

You jump-started a transformation of America that we must now build upon.

While there are too many of you to thank individually, please know that I—and America's children—feel deeply grateful for your hard work and spirit of goodwill and love for children. I hope all of you inspired each other as much as you inspired me.

When my children were small, I read them Leo Lionni's story of Swimmy—a little fish who, like all the other little fish in the sea, lived in constant terror of being eaten up by all the big fish. Swimmy finally figured out that if all the little fish got together to form a great big fish—the biggest fish in the sea—they would be powerful enough to stand up to the other fish.

To build our children's movement, we must follow Swimmy's example. All of us who care about children must find each other and keep standing together until we are large and powerful enough to make sure that no child is left behind.

God bless you!

"New" welfare/Medicaid plan bad for children

The new welfare and Medicaid legislation in Congress would be just as harmful to children as the bills President Clinton vetoed in December and January—and in some instances, even more harmful, says CDF Family Income Director Deborah Weinstein. Like the vetoed bills, H.R. 3507 and S. 1795 would end the federal safety net for children, increase child poverty, jeopardize children's health and nutrition, and leave more children at risk of abuse and neglect.

Although congressional leaders have cast the legislation as a bipartisan compromise worked out by the nation's governors last February, the Democratic governors have denounced it as a partisan proposal that would harm the poor. The legislation is expected to reach the floor of both houses in July.

"These welfare and Medicaid proposals are terrible for children, and advocates should urge the President to veto any version of them," says CDF Director of Government Affairs Eileen Sweeney (see page 12). "Advocates should write letters to the editor to help people in their communities understand how harmful the bill would be for children in their states."

Guarantees eliminated

Like the earlier bills, the new plan would turn welfare over to each state as a block grant that denies millions of poor children any assurance of income support in times of need. Beyond a small contingency fund, the block grant would provide no new federal funding during times of high or rising joblessness.

A family's eligibility for welfare would be limited to a lifetime total of 60 months, and parents would have to participate in work efforts within two years. If parents reached the welfare time limit without finding stable jobs, states would not even be able to offer vouchers to help families provide their children with food and other basic necessities.

Both bills would convert Medicaid to a block grant, ending guaranteed coverage for children. The bills would cut roughly $72 billion in federal Medicaid funding over six years, and potentially trigger up to $180 billion in additional state cuts. In theory the bills retain many current protections for children and would continue the ongoing expansion of coverage for poor children ages 13 through 18. However, federal funding would be denied to newly eligible teens after the first year's coverage, and all guarantees in the bills would end when federal funds were exhausted. The House bill, but not the Senate bill, would end meaningful coverage guarantees by giving states unlimited freedom to cut benefits for children and adults and by repealing the current guarantee of medically necessary health care for children through Medicaid's Early and Periodic Screening, Diagnosis, and Treatment program (EPSDT).

Both bills expand loopholes that would give states opportunities to withdraw hundreds of billions of state dollars from their welfare and Medicaid programs without losing any federal funding, and would allow states to transfer up to 30 percent of federal cash assistance funds to other programs, including those that don't serve children.

The bills also would increase child hunger, by seriously cutting back the food stamp and child nutrition programs by a total of about $26 billion over six years, and by allowing states to choose a food stamp block grant in place of the current program. The bills would deny Supplemental Security Income (SSI) benefits to more than 300,000 children with serious disabilities and would cut funding for children's SSI benefits by more than $8 billion over six years.

H.R. 3507 also threatens children's safety. Its child protection block grants (which aren't in the Senate bill) eliminate all assurances that federal funds will be devoted to *preventing* child abuse and neglect. Both bills, however, maintain the federal guarantee of foster care and adoption assistance.

Thanks to advocates' hard work, the new plan contains better child care provisions than the vetoed welfare bill, says CDF Child Care Director Helen Blank. Both bills would include $4 billion more than the vetoed bill in child care assistance for welfare families, and would not penalize mothers with children younger than 11 for failing to meet work requirements (the vetoed bill reduced benefits for those with children age 6 or older). Compared with the vetoed bill, H.R. 3507 (but not the Senate bill) restores the minimum health and safety standards of the current Child Care and Development Block Grant and increases the amount of money states must set aside to increase the quality and supply of child care.

More threats on horizon

While congressional leaders appear to have the votes to pass the combined welfare/Medicaid legislation, President Clinton has pledged to veto any bill converting Medicaid to a block grant. It's unclear whether the President would reject a separate welfare bill containing block grants and time limits and making deep cuts in food stamps and SSI. "So even if the President vetoes combined welfare/Medicaid legislation this summer, the threat to children may not be over," says Sweeney. "Advocates must continue to work hard to make sure their concerns are heard throughout the fall."

Funds for crime prevention

States and communities may now apply for funds under the new Local Law Enforcement Block Grant, which has $503 million to disburse before September 30. Most of the money is intended for law enforcement, but some funds may be approved for children's prevention programs connected with local law enforcement. For more information, see the Department of Justice Web site at http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/BJA/ or call Holly Jackson at CDF, 202-662-3664.

Stand For Children

From a stage in front of the Lincoln Memorial, CDF President Marian Wright Edelman addressed the crowd ringing the Reflecting Pool during the Stand For Children rally in Washington, D.C., on June 1 (see below).

Convened by Edelman and endorsed by more than 3,700 organizations, Stand For Children was, in Edelman's words, a day "to commit ourselves to building a just America that leaves no child behind.

"We stand for one national house," she said, "big enough and fair enough for the privileged and the powerful, for the middle- and low-income family, for the poor and the powerless....We stand for a nation in which the poorest baby born in the Mississippi Delta, Montana plains, Texas barrios, Arizona reservations, and inner-city ghettos has the same God-given and America-promised birthright of fair opportunity, respect, and protection as the middle-class child born in Shaker Heights and the child born on Park Avenue.

"We have come here today from all acros the nation," Edelman told the crowd, "because we know that we are the answer—individuals, families, communities, religious leaders, and citizens who hold ourselves personally accountable, but who also hold our leaders publicly accountable, with our voices and with our votes."

Nationally known performing artists, such as Edward James Olmos and Rosie O'Donnell, participated in the day's program, along with six extraordinary citizens committed to improving children's lives, and three young people who have overcome difficult obstacles to succeed.

On the Youth Stage, Fox TV's *New York Undercover* stars Malik Yoba and 13-year-old George Gore II, along with a local radio personality, hosted a speak-out for teenagers and young adults. Many young people voiced concern about the conditions under which some children are growing up.

A Children's Stage featured characters from the PBS television shows *Puzzle Place* and *Mister Rogers' Neighborhood*. Also appearing was an 11-year-old boy from New York City, who read his prize-winning poem about eliminating violence in his community.

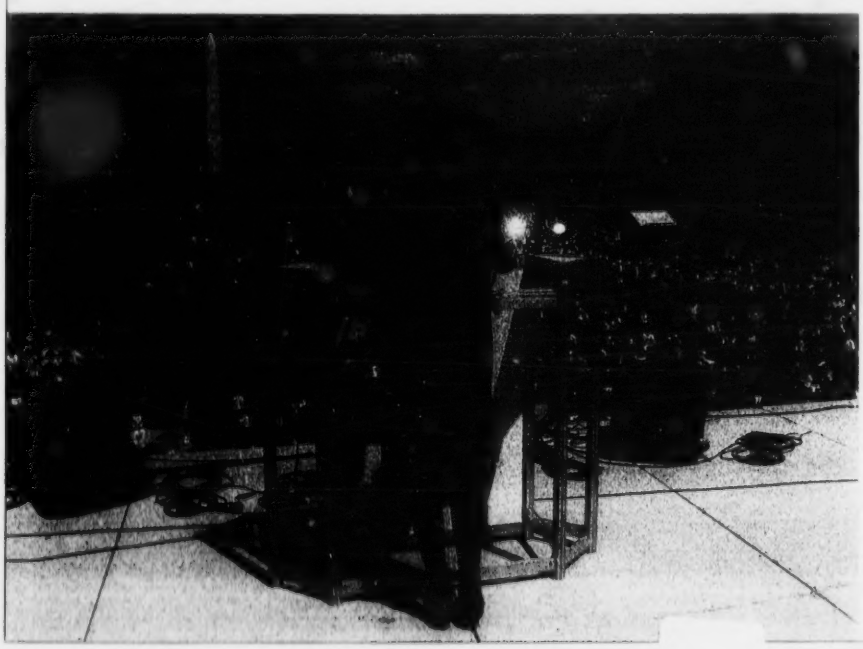


Photo © Ed Maguire

Scores of radio stations and television networks, both broadcast and cable, covered the event. Stand For Children generated stories in many major national news publications, including *Time*, *U.S. News & World Report*, *The Washington Post*, *Parade*, and *The New York Times*. In addition, many hundreds of local newspapers across the country ran stories about Stand For Children.

Photo © Jim Wells

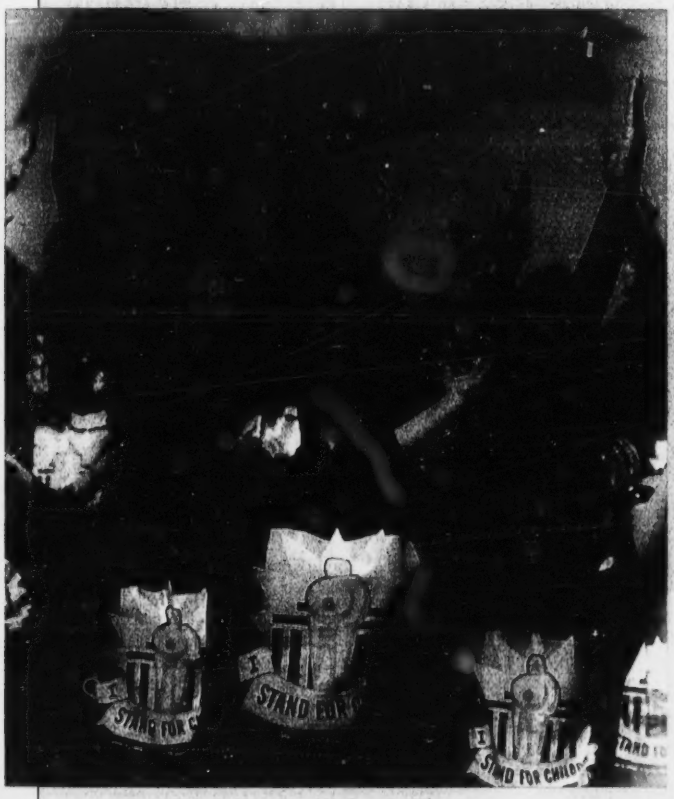
Some of the more than 200,000 Stand For Children attendees at the Lincoln Memorial. About 3,000 chartered buses, three planes, and eight trains—the longest, an 18-car train from New York—helped bring the crowd to the rally.

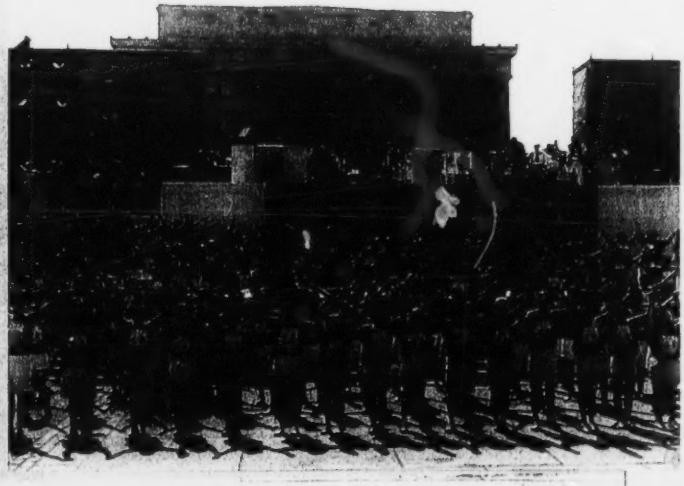
Photo © Rick Reinhard

Volunteer members of the Stand For Children Commitment Crew collect more than 60,000 signatures on a pledge to work for children.

Photo © Rick Reinhard

Thousands of children, accompanied by their parents and chaperons, wave pennants and posters as they march across the Arlington Memorial Bridge to the Lincoln Memorial for the Stand For Children rally.



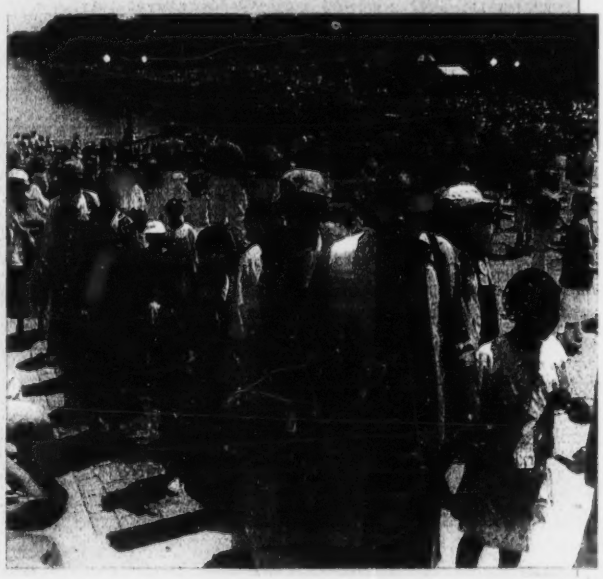


A 2,000-voice America Sings! children's choir, made up of music groups from 25 elementary and high schools around the country, performs before the start of the day's program.

How to stand for children every day

1. Make time for family time.
2. Limit your child's exposure to violent television programs, movies, and video games. Read to your child and encourage your child to read.
3. Get involved in your child's school. Provide homework help and encouragement.
4. Join or create neighborhood parenting groups. Share experiences and support.
5. Take personal responsibility for helping at least one child besides your own.
6. Urge your employer, congregation, civic groups, and others to place a high priority on meeting children's physical and emotional needs.
7. Join with other parents and citizens to urge your local, state, and federal government to invest first in children.

For more about how you can stand for children, order the free Citizen's Action Guide by calling Tim Briceland-Betts at CDF, 202-662-3584.



Photos © Rick Reinhard

A colorful procession of more than 150 members of the clergy with children, representing all major faith traditions, walks to the stage in front of the Lincoln Memorial for the Interfaith Service opening the program for Stand For Children Day.

Photo © Ron Caesar

Teens from the performing arts group City at Peace present a musical skit on the Youth Stage. Black Entertainment Television (BET) cablecast a live special from the Youth Stage.

Photo © Rick Reinhard

Visiting the "issue tents," Stand For Children attendees find more than 100 organizations displaying information about their work, the challenges that face children and families, and how people can help children and families in their communities.

Photo © Harlee Little

Dr. Ginger Snaps (Karen McCarty), one of 12 clown doctors from the Big Apple Circus Clown Care Unit®, helps volunteer doctors and nurses dispense advice and medical care at a Stand For Children first-aid station.

Photo © Harlee Little

Ten-year-old E.Z. Cleghorn, a blind student from Warner Robins, Ga., stands with CDF President Marian Wright Edelman to answer media questions at the end of the day. (Comedian Rosie O'Donnell is in background.) Earlier, E.Z. had addressed the Stand For Children crowd about the importance of positive role models in his life.

Photo © Rick Reinhard

Dancers For Christ, of Washington, D.C., were among the 22 groups that performed at the Children's Stage.

Photo © Harlee Little

Stand For Children spokespeople from New York State answer a television reporter's questions on June 1. Representatives from nearly every state were on hand to speak to the media about the needs of children in their communities and the importance of taking a stand for children.

Keep standing for children

The Stand For Children Action Center is now open to help Americans continue the children's movement bolstered on June 1. Through its 800 number (800-663-4032) and its World Wide Web site (http://www.stand.org), the Action Center will:

- Share information about what is working, to help people work for children in their own communities.
- Provide lists of local agencies and organizations that help children.
- Tell individuals and groups how they can join others who are standing for children in their communities.
- Provide questions to ask every candidate and office-holder about children's issues.

If you have information about specific actions people can take to Stand For Children; descriptions of individuals, programs, and community leaders currently standing for children; activities that occurred around the country in conjunction with Stand For Children Day; or upcoming rallies, planning meetings, or initiatives, please call Eliza Leighton, 202-234-0095, x289, or send a fax to: 202-234-0217.

Short Takes

Income gap linked to death rates

The growing income gap between rich and poor Americans may hurt more than just poor citizens. Greater income inequality may contribute to higher overall mortality rates and deaths from heart disease, strokes, cancer, and homicide. That's the conclusion of two new studies showing that states with the largest income gaps between rich and poor have the highest death rates among people of all ages, from infants to the elderly. States with the smallest gaps have lower overall death rates.

Poor people are known to be more likely to die than more-affluent citizens of the same age, but the increased death rates in states with large income gaps are "not due simply to their having more poor people," says one of the researchers. Both studies took into account the known health effects of poverty and such relevant factors as smoking and drinking.

It's unclear why the gap in income seems to increase the death rates of citizens who aren't poor. Both studies suggest, however, that income distribution may be a "proxy for other social indicators." According to the researchers from the Harvard School of Public Health who conducted one of the studies, communities that tolerate a large income gap may tend to under-invest in such things as public education and accessible health care. And the second study, conducted by researchers at the California Department of Health Services, notes that states with greater income inequality have more homicide and violent crime than other states, spend more on law enforcement and less on education, and have more people without health insurance.

Because of the link between income distribution and health and mortality, the California researchers advise policy makers to "consider health effects and the costs associated with them, when evaluating the impact of economic policies."

The *British Medical Journal* published both studies on April 20, 1996 (Vol. 312). Their titles and authors are: "Income distribution and mortality: cross sectional ecological study of the Robin Hood index in the United States," by Bruce P. Kennedy *et al*, at the Harvard School of Public Health; and "Inequality in income and mortality in the United States: analysis of mortality and potential pathways," by George A. Kaplan *et al*, at the California Department of Health Services, Berkeley.

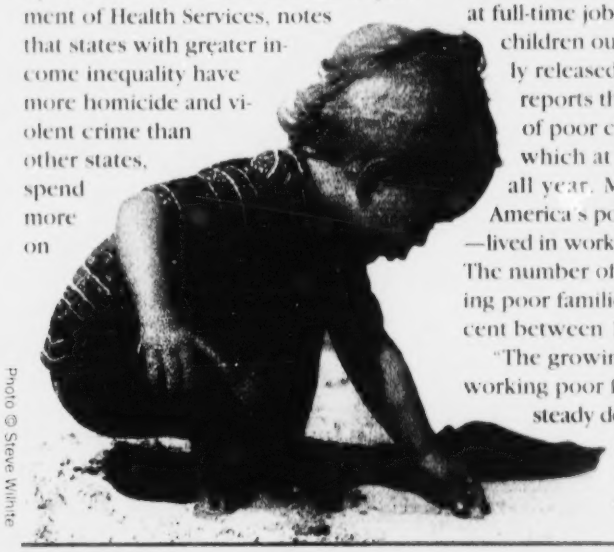
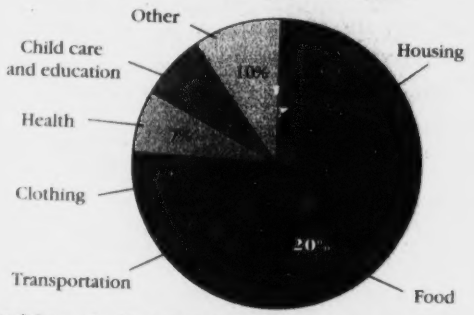


Photo © Steve Wilhite

What it costs to raise a child

To raise a child to age 18:

- Single-parent households with incomes of less than $33,700 will spend $101,580.
- Husband–wife households with incomes of less than $33,700 will spend $106,890.
- Husband–wife households with incomes of $33,700 to $56,700 will spend $145,320.



Breakdown of estimated annual expenditures on a child by husband–wife couples with incomes of less than $33,700

Note: Chart percentages are rounded. Figures do not include the cost of inflation or college.

Source: *Expenditures on Children by Families, 1995 Annual Report.* U.S. Department of Agriculture, Center for Nutrition Policy and Promotion. Misc. Publication No. 1528-1995. For a free copy, write the center at: 1120 20th Street NW, Suite 200 North Lobby, Washington, DC 20036.

More poor children living in working families

More and more, parents who play by the rules and work year-round at full-time jobs are unable to lift their children out of poverty. The recently released *Kids Count Data Book* reports that a growing proportion of poor children live in families in which at least one parent works all year. More than one-third of America's poor children—5.6 million—lived in working poor families in 1994. The number of children living in working poor families increased by 30 percent between 1989 and 1994.

"The growing number of children in working poor families is rooted in the steady decline in the value of low-skill labor in an increasingly global economy," says Douglas W. Nelson, executive director of the Annie E. Casey Foundation. The foundation funds Kid's Count data-gathering projects in the 50 states and the District of Columbia and publishes the national data book.

The report identifies two particular difficulties of working poor families. First, their children go without health insurance at a higher rate than any other group of U.S. children. In 1994, 27 percent of the children of working poor families had no public or private medical insurance—about twice the rate for all Americans. In addition, the average working poor family that pays for child care spends 21 percent of its limited monthly income on child care, compared with 7 percent for nonpoor families.

The report recommends eliminating barriers to child care and health insurance for working poor families. It also suggests that the federal Earned Income Credit be increased and that states create their own similar tax credits to enhance the net income of low-income wage earners.

To order a free copy of the Kids Count Data Book, *call 410-223-2890.*

CDF youth corps offers positive outlet for teens

The 50 young people enrolled in the Teenage Leadership Corps (TLC), a youth development, education, and recreation program in rural Bennettsville, S.C., are making impressive changes in their community, according to CDF-Marlboro County Director **Marian David**.

David created TLC two years ago to provide Bennettsville teens with a positive outlet for personal and social growth. "This is a small, close-knit town, which is wonderful," says David, "but there aren't any places for teenagers to gather and socialize after school and on weekends." The closest bowling alley, for example, is a 45-minute drive away.

Recently, says David, TLC members organized a petition drive and gathered 350 signatures in support of building a recreation center in Bennettsville, and three TLC members testified at the city-wide public hearing on the subject. Thanks in part to their efforts, the city council voted in March to support completion of the center.

In addition to attending public speak-outs and volunteering their time in community service projects, TLC members use the resource room at the CDF-Marlboro County office to complete homework assignments, discuss books, and research college scholarships via computer. Groups of members also attend basketball and football games and tour nearby colleges.

"This is the only place we can get together to do positive things as a group and have fun," says **Amy Pouncy**, 17, a student at Marlboro County High School. "TLC has been a real good experience for everyone." David agrees. "These young people are developing leadership skills that will help them become active, involved adults," she says. "It doesn't take but so much to make a difference."

For more information, contact Marian David at CDF-Marlboro County, 803-479-5310.

It's House Party time!

On September 26, 1996, the Black Community Crusade for Children (BCCC) will sponsor its second national "House Party Day," when Black Americans throughout the country will come together in homes, schools, community centers, churches, synagogues, mosques, and on college campuses, to join the BCCC's movement to leave no child behind. House Parties, linked across the country by a common date and purpose, represent a celebration of self-help and a special evening of hope and commitment to take action on behalf of Black children. The Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, through a $3 million challenge grant, will match one-for-one every dollar the Black community raises from House Parties, to support the activities of the BCCC and endow the former Alex Haley farm. For information about how you can host a House Party, call **Wayne Marshall,** Development Campaign Coordinator, 202-662-3676.

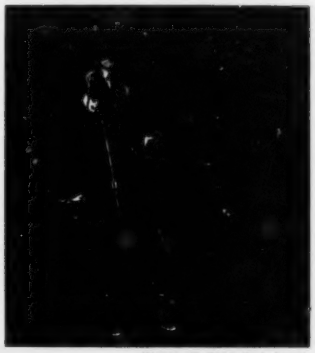


Photo © Rick Reinhard

Comedian Paula Poundstone draws a laugh from CDF President Marian Wright Edelman at a Stand For Children benefit, May 31, at Washington, D.C.'s Kennedy Center.

More than 600 people attending CDF-Ohio's fourth annual benefit May 16 at the headquarters of The Limited, Inc., in Columbus, Ohio, became the live studio audience for a taping of "Kids News Network." The weekly 30-minute television news show is reported entirely by children ages 10 to 15 and airs each Saturday morning throughout the Central Ohio area.

As CDF-Ohio friends and supporters looked on, the savvy young broadcast reporters questioned CDF President **Marian Wright Edelman**, CDF Board Member **John Deardourff**, and CDF-Ohio Director **Mark Real** about the most pressing issues facing Ohio children and families. Thirty state and local officials also attended. Several of the show's interview segments, which had been taped beforehand, featured people who work with children and see their needs on a daily basis, such as Head Start and child care providers.

A 25-member committee headed by CDF Board Member **Abigail Wexner** hosted this year's Ohio benefit.

On May 14, five Washington, D.C., high school seniors who have overcome daunting obstacles to excel in school and to serve their communities were honored at the CDF-DC Project Office's "Beat the Odds" celebration, a luncheon at B. Smith's Restaurant.

Local television reporter and mistress of ceremonies **Susan Kidd** joined CDF's Edelman in presenting awards to **Renee Bowman**, of Calvin Coolidge Senior High School; **Angela Callahan**, of Howard D. Woodson Senior High School; **Victoria Nwosu**, of Dunbar Senior High School; **Cochise Robertson**, of Spingarn Senior High School; and **Pedro Vides**, of Benjamin Banneker Senior High School.

Each award winner received a $1,000 scholarship underwritten by Nordstrom, a $200 gift certificate from The Hecht Company, and a computer provided by the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS). The luncheon was underwritten by AAAS.

4 Facts

you should know about the "new" welfare and Medicaid plan

It would:

1. Cut off help for children and families after a lifetime limit of 60 months, even if parents can't find stable jobs.
2. Threaten children's health by cutting $72 billion in federal Medicaid funding over six years.
3. Increase child hunger by cutting $26 billion over six years from food stamps and child nutrition programs.
4. Deny SSI cash benefits to more than 300,000 children with disabilities.

CDF Reports

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Key steps for children

Action needed	Status (as of July 2, 1996)
Entitlements. Preserve guaranteed funding for AFDC, food stamps, foster care and adoption assistance, child nutrition, Medicaid, SSI, and child support enforcement.	H.R. 4, vetoed by the President in January, would have gutted the AFDC entitlement, only partially retained the entitlement to child protection services; and cut SSI for children, food stamps, and child nutrition programs. H.R. 4 provisions, along with language to repeal the Medicaid entitlement, also had been part of the budget reconciliation bill previously vetoed by the President. In June, House and Senate committees marked up H.R. 3507 and S. 1795, which are very similar to H.R. 4 and cut welfare $53 billion and Medicaid $72 billion. The House and Senate will vote on these bills in July.
Welfare reform. Expand job opportunities, increase the minimum wage, offer child care help, improve child support, and reject attempts to deny aid to families with no other means of subsistence.	
Head Start and child care. Expand funding for Head Start and for child care programs for low-income working families.	The House proposes to increase funding for Head Start by $30.7 million and CCDBG by $15 million for FY 1997.
Health care reform. Extend affordable health care coverage to all children and pregnant women.	Unlike H.R. 3507, S. 1795 preserves EPSDT. However, both bills eliminate the Vaccines for Children program. In a positive step, the Senate and House have passed bills (S. 1028, H.R. 3103) to protect families against denial of insurance coverage for pre-existing conditions. Extraneous amendments, if preserved in conference, may provoke the President's veto.
Juvenile justice and violence prevention. Reauthorize the Juvenile Justice Delinquency Prevention Act (JJDPA), retaining its core protections for children. Fully fund key prevention programs created by the 1994 crime act.	JJDPA hearings under way in House and Senate. H.R. 3565 focuses on very punitive measures, wipes out protections for children, and ignores prevention. The House could vote on this bill late in July.
Education of children with disabilities. Reauthorize the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA).	H.R. 3268, reauthorizing IDEA, passed the House on 6/10/96. The Senate Labor Committee has finished work on S. 1578. That bill awaits action by the full Senate.

Call the President!

Urge President Clinton not to sign any welfare or Medicaid "reform" bill that makes more children poor, sick, hungry, or at risk of neglect or abuse.

CDF's legislative hotline tape:
202-662-3678

CDF on the Internet:
http://www.tmn.com/cdf/index.html

Capitol Hill switchboard:
202-224-3121

U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

U.S. Senate
Washington, DC 20510

White House comment line:
202-456-1111
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President Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

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Children's Defense Fund

CDF Reports

September 26 is House Party Day!

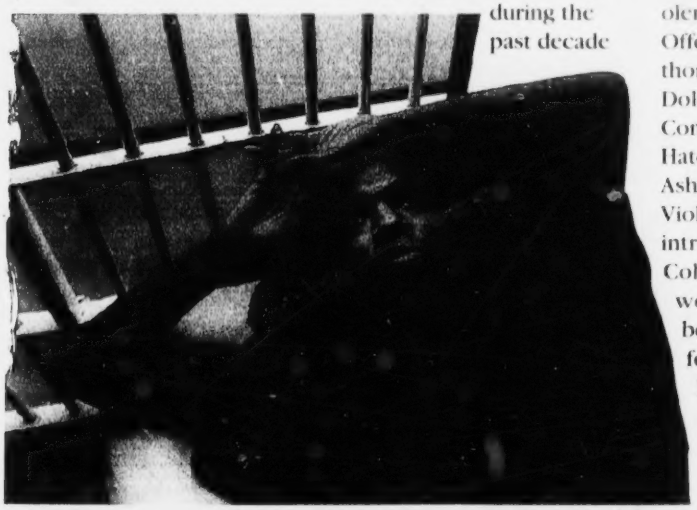
August 1996
Volume 17, Number 9

Congress considers "predator" bills

Election year politics is fueling an already popular trend toward ever-harsher treatment of juvenile offenders, says CDF Director of Government Affairs Eileen Sweeney. Congress is working on several juvenile justice bills that together would allow more children to be transferred to adult court and adult prisons, make defendants as young as 16 eligible for the death penalty in federal murder cases, and end the critical federal protections for juveniles mandated by the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act (JJDPA).

"These proposals are extreme, cynical, and give up on rehabilitating juveniles," says Rep. Mel Watt (D-NC), who sits on the Crime Subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee. "They represent a kind of paranoia, and from a public policy analysis, they make no sense."

"It's important to acknowledge," says CDF Assistant General Counsel Kim Wade, "that violent crime and gun use among teenagers are increasing, and that the public's fears have some basis in reality." According to the U.S. Department of Justice, during the past decade juvenile arrests for violent crime increased by 75 percent, and murders by juveniles have more than tripled since 1985.



"We must continue to hold young people accountable for their actions," says Wade, "and we may need to reconsider the options available to juvenile courts as they respond to these increases. But throwing young teens into adult jails and locking them up for decades without any attempt to rehabilitate them isn't the right solution."

Two of the harshest bills now in Congress are the Violent and Repeat Juvenile Offender Reform Act, co-authored by former Sen. Robert Dole (R-KS), Senate Judiciary Committee Chairman Orrin Hatch (R-UT), and Sen. John Ashcroft (R-MO); and the Violent Youth Predator Act, introduced by Rep. Bill McCollum (R-FL). The first bill would allow 16-year-olds to be sentenced to death in federal murder cases and 13-year-olds to be tried as

(See page 2)

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Juvenile justice

(Continued from page 1)

adults in federal courts for violent crimes and in certain other cases. While awaiting trial, these youngsters could be detained with adults. Both bills would impose a mandatory minimum sentence of 20 years for using a firearm during drug trafficking or a violent crime.

CDF General Counsel Jim Weill notes that the United States is one of just a handful of nations that executes juveniles (teens younger than 18) or people who committed their crimes as juveniles. "With the exception of Iran and Iraq," says Weill, "our nation has executed more juveniles in the past decade or so than any other country in the world."

Children tried as adults are more likely to return to prison than those tried as juveniles.

When young people are tossed into the adult system, they don't get the counseling, vocational training, and other treatment services they need to help them get back on the right track, says Wade. Even worse, according to a study recently published in the *Juvenile & Family Court Journal*, children jailed in adult facilities are five times as likely to be sexually assaulted, twice as likely to be beaten by staff, and half-again as likely to be attacked with a weapon as are children housed in juvenile facilities.

It's hardly surprising, says Wade, that recent research shows that children tried as adults are more likely to commit more serious and more frequent new offenses, and are more likely to return to prison, than those tried as juveniles.

Juvenile justice act

Congress enacted the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act (JJDPA) in 1974 precisely to separate young offenders from hardened criminals and strengthen local rehabilitation and prevention efforts for young people. This year, the act must be reauthorized, and advocates fear that this punishment-minded Congress will try to weaken the law.

Currently, JJDPA provides funding for state juvenile justice systems and prevention programs; in return, the states agree to honor certain guarantees to protect juveniles. States must remove from locked detention facilities young people who have committed "status" offenses, such as truancy or running away from home; make sure juveniles are separated "by sight and sound" from adults in detention centers; remove young offenders from adult jails; and address the disproportionate number of minority youths in confinement.

Since the act took effect, says Wade, fewer children have been institutionalized for status offenses and fewer put into adult jails. However, she cautions, these practices haven't yet been eliminated, and minority children still are overrepresented in detention and correctional facilities. Nationwide, says Wade, Black youths make up 15 percent of the total youth population, and Hispanic youths are another 12 percent. Yet minorities account for 69 percent of the young people in public facilities. "We still have a long way to go before the JJDPA protections for youths are fully implemented," says Wade. "And it's important to remember that these protections benefit all young people, not only minorities."

Nonetheless, the Ashcroft/Dole/Hatch bill and McCollum's Violent Youth Predator Act would end JJDPA's protections for young people and eliminate the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP), which enforces the act. The OJJDP would be replaced with a new office, whose mandate would not include the current focus on prevention, intervention, and rehabilitation.

Bills to reauthorize JJDPA were introduced in both the House (H.R. 3876) and Senate (S.1952) in mid-July. Both bills modify not only the law's mandates—especially those concerning disproportionate minority confinement and separation of juveniles from adults in prison—but also the mechanisms for enforcing the mandates. The bills' sponsors, Fred Thompson (R-TN) and Joseph Biden (D-DE) in the Senate, and Randy Cunningham (R-CA) in the House, say the modifications would give states more flexibility. But the changes, says Wade, would mean that states would be less accountable for the treatment of youths in their courtrooms and prisons.

(See page 4)

Congress Walks Away from Prevention

Money for preventing youth violence in communities

($ in millions)

	FY '95 authorization	FY '95 appropriation	FY '96 authorization	FY '96 appropriation	Money *not* provided in FY '96
Ounce of Prevention (Dept. of Justice)	$1.5	$1.5	$14.7	$1.5	**$13.2**
Community Schools (Dept. of Education)	25.9	25.9	72.5	0.0	**72.5**
Family and Community Endeavor Schools (Dept. of Health & Human Services)	11.1	11.1	31.1	0.0	**31.1**
Gang Resistance, Education & Training (Dept. of Treasury)	9.0	9.0	9.0	7.2	**1.8**
Total *not* spent on violence prevention					**$118.6**

Note: The authorization level is the amount Congress sets ahead of time as a cap on what Congress can spend in ensuing years for a program. The appropriations level is the amount Congress actually spends. In many situations, the authorization level may exceed the amount of money expected to be appropriated. In 1994 Congress established these authorizations at the same time it created a trust fund in which money was set aside for these purposes. Therefore, the appropriations should match the authorization levels. However, Congress has shifted priorities and abandoned its commitment to prevention in favor of prison construction.

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Director of Publications: Donna M. Jablonski

Senior Editor: Belva Finlay

Managing Editor: Marge duMond

Writer: Sydney Stephenson Clevenger

Production Manager: Janis Johnston

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Director of Communications: Lynn Bowersox-Megginson

CDF Ohio, 52 East Lynn Street, Suite 400, Columbus, OH 43215, Mark Real, Director

CDF Greater Cincinnati, 258 Erkenbrecher Avenue, Cincinnati, OH 45229, Eileen Reed, Advocate

CDF Greater Columbus, 52 East Lynn Street, Suite 400, Columbus, OH 43215, Susan Lewis, Director

CDF Minnesota, 550 Rice Street, Suite 106, St. Paul, MN 55103, Jim Koppel, Director

CDF Marlboro County, 117 Cheraw Highway, Bennettsville, SC 29512, Olive Covington, Director

CDF New York, 200 Church Street, 2nd Floor, New York, NY 10013, Donna Lawrence, Director

CDF on the Internet:
http://www.tmn.com/cdf/index.html

A Voice for Children

by Marian Wright Edelman

Keep fighting for prevention

I'll call him Phillip, this eight-year-old from Ft. Lauderdale, Fla., who had been abandoned by his father and was full of fear and anger. Phillip acted out in class and got into regular fistfights with his peers. Suspended from school, he began hanging out on the streets.

For many children like Phillip, such behavior would eventually lead to more serious encounters with the law. But fortunately for Phillip a local nonprofit called the Mount Bethel Human Services Corporation, which works with troubled young people, stepped into his life. The agency sent a male social worker to speak with Phillip's school guidance counselors. The social worker helped Phillip get readmitted to school and assigned to a smaller, more specialized classroom. He enrolled Phillip in karate and basketball after school. He made sure Phillip received counseling, and Phillip began attending church every Sunday.

Six months after the good folks at Mount Bethel entered Phillip's life, he smiles more, walks with a bounce in his stride, and has made friends at school. "He's happier because he knows we care," says Marian Hickson, executive vice president of Mount Bethel. "His situation is affirmation of why children need us to go the extra mile."

How true that is!

No matter their race or economic status, children need to know that adults care enough to provide them safe places to go after school, on weekends, and during the summers. They hunger for structure and consistency in their lives and the chance to participate in constructive activities that help them feel good about themselves. They crave the friendship and love positive adult role models can provide.

Bills that attempt to demonize our children and lock them up in adult prisons are unworthy of our nation and are no answer to juvenile crime.

Families, religious groups, and public and private organizations of all kinds need to focus on giving children more of the kind of guidance and nurturing that Phillip received, so they can avoid the dead-end path of alienation, delinquency, and violence. In Phillip's case, the organization that made the difference was Mount Bethel, a coalition of Broward County–area churches authorized by the Florida Department of Juvenile Justice to accept referrals from schools and other agencies that serve children. Congress should be helping support Mount Bethel and other community efforts that help keep children out of trouble. Instead, the congressional leadership has turned its back on positive youth development and prevention. (If you have any doubts, look at the chart on page 2.) Some members of Congress propose to ignore our most vulnerable young people completely —until they make a wrong move; then they would lock them up in adult jails and all but throw away the key.

We must take firm action to make America's streets safe and to reduce violence and crime. Young people should be accountable for their actions. But bills like the Violent Youth Predator Act in the House, and the Senate's Violent and Repeat Juvenile Offender Reform Act, bills that attempt to demonize our children and lock them up in adult prisons, are unworthy of our nation and are no answer to juvenile crime.

Call your members of Congress today and tell them to reject these shameful bills. But don't stop there. As child advocates, we must all keep fighting for *prevention* and early intervention. It is efforts like Mount Bethel's that will both save the Phillips in our communities and make our neighborhoods safer for everyone.

Of Note

Publications

Preventing Crime and Promoting Responsibility: 50 Federal Programs that Help Communities Help Their Youth describes a series of planning questions and highlights federal sources of information, technical assistance, and financial support for community-based efforts to prevent youth crime and violence. Free, from the President's Crime Prevention Council. Call 202-395-5555.

Two new resources from Search Institute report the findings of a two-year study of youth work in religious settings. ***Youth Development in Congregations*** explores how congregations can play a major role in helping young people grow up healthy and competent. ***The Attitudes and Needs of Religious Youth Workers: Perspectives from the Field*** describes the education, training, experience, and commitment of religious youth workers and explores similarities and differences across traditions and between professional and volunteer youth workers. $14.95 for both publications; call 612-376-8955 or 1-800-888-7828.

Directory of Social Service Grants, a profile of 900 foundations, includes geographic restrictions, grant ranges, and a list of organizations funded. $58.50 plus $6 for handling. Contact Research Grant Guides, Dept. 3A, PO Box 1214, Loxahatchee, FL 33470; 407-795-6129.

Where the Kids Are: How to Work with Schools to Create Elementary School-Based Health Centers, A Primer for Health Professionals explains how schools work and how to work with them, and offers lessons from the field and contacts for further information. $15, from the National Health & Education Consortium, Inst. for Educational Leadership, 1001 Connecticut Ave. NW, Suite 310, Washington, DC 20036; 202-822-8405.

Child Abuse and Neglect: A Look at the States, is a comprehensive, quick reference to national and state data on vulnerable children and their families, published by the Child Welfare League of America (CWLA). It documents differences among states, providing a useful baseline for measuring the effects of service interventions and reforms, and covers risk factors for service intervention, prevention efforts, child abuse and neglect, child fatalities, children living in out-of-home care, adoption, independent living services, and the financing of child welfare services. $26.95. To order, call 1-800-407-6273.

Conferences

Oct. 23-26 — "Selling Violence—It's Killing Our Kids," Fort Worth, Texas, sponsored by The Citizens Crime Commission of Tarrant County. Call 817-877-5161 for more information.

Nov. 7-8 — "Breaking the IQ Barrier: Emotional & Multiple Intelligence in the Classroom," Boston, sponsored by National Professional Resources, Inc. Call Susan Plant at 1-800-453-7461 for more information.

Dec. 8-11 — "International Early Childhood Conference on Children with Special Needs," Phoenix, will address research, policy, personnel training, program planning, and service delivery issues related to young children with special needs and their families. Contact the Council for Exceptional Children's Division for Early Childhood, 1-800-845-6232.

Resources

A new information center, **Waterfront Books Network,** can help locate materials for children and adults on: teaching and learning healthy coping skills, overcoming barriers to learning, support for families and parenting, loss and grieving, illness, drugs and alcohol, safety and sexuality, special needs, and a variety of personal and social issues. Call 1-800-639-6063 for a free catalogue of books, videos, and games.

Juvenile justice

(Continued from page 2)

Real prevention

If politicians were genuinely interested in finding solutions to juvenile crime, says Rep. Bobby Scott (D-VA), they would be pursuing entirely different policies. "We know that trying juveniles in adult courts increases the rate at which they return to prison by at least 30 percent," he says. "No similarly accepted research provides any proof that trying juveniles as adults reduces crime in any manner. It is amazing that so many members of Congress have chosen to ignore this fact, for the benefit of their own re-election efforts."

To avoid the increase in adolescent crime projected for the early years of the next century (expected in part because by 2005, the teen population will again reach the 1980 high), "legislators should be doing much more than screaming, 'Lock 'em up and throw away the key,'" says Scott. They should be "zealous about fully funding Head Start and other early childhood development programs that help prevent crime."

The payoff for investing in prevention is illustrated by the results of a recent study conducted by the RAND Corp., *Diverting Children from a Life of Crime: Measuring Costs and Benefits*. Working from existing research, the study's authors determined that California's "three strikes" law is more expensive and less cost-effective in preventing crime than are dropout prevention programs, training for parents whose children show signs of being at risk for delinquency, and more-active intervention when young people first get into trouble with the law. For example, say the authors, "three strikes" *adds* to the cost of the criminal justice system, while a graduation incentives program would both reduce crime and, over the long run, save enough money in the criminal justice system to pay most of the program's cost.

Don't miss national House Party Day

Americans across the country are gearing up for the Black Community Crusade for Children's (BCCC) second national "House Party Day," on September 26. House Parties will be held in homes, schools, community centers, churches, synagogues, and mosques, to raise money to match a $3 million challenge grant from the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation. Money raised by the Black community will be used to support the activities of the BCCC and endow the former Alex Haley farm. For information on how you can host or attend a House Party in your community, call Wayne Marshall, 202-662-3676, or Connie Eiseman, 202-662-3531.

Election Year Guide

Advice from seasoned advocates

In this election year, "child advocates have to make the biggest push ever to educate the electorate about children's needs," says Margaret Brodkin, executive director of Coleman Advocates for Children and Youth, in San Francisco. "The other side has successfully drawn attention to their messages and beaten us, yet we have the winning issues. If there's anything I've learned, it's that the public is on the side of kids, and if you create a forum to express that, the public will do the right thing.

"We go to town during an election year," Brodkin says. "There's no other time quite like it. You have access to the airwaves, and people are thinking and talking about the issues. It's an incredible opportunity for children's advocates."

CDF Director of Government and Community Affairs Jay Hedlund agrees. "It's time for child advocates to throw themselves into election year activities," he says. "There are countless ways in which nonprofits may encourage citizens to vote with children's needs in mind. Advocates also may educate candidates about children's needs and help candidates understand their responsibilities to children *after* the election," Hedlund says. (For more about permissible election year activities for nonprofits, see page 9.)

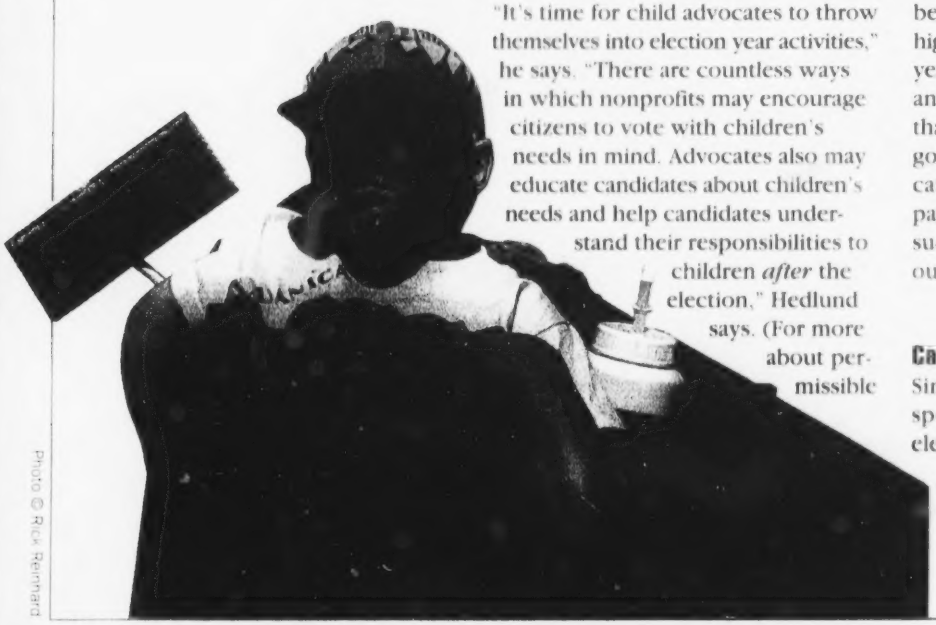

Photo © Rick Reinhard

Yet according to Brodkin and Jack Levine, executive director of the Florida Center for Children and Youth, too few advocates and nonprofit organizations fully use the opportunities that elections present to bring children's needs to the forefront at the local, state, or national levels.

"The folks who do the most for, and know the most about children traditionally have been averse to politics, because they see it as too partisan," says Levine. "We want to strip away the partisanship and remove the 'spectatorism' from the way traditional children's advocates operate, giving them the tools to understand the issues and be more conversant when speaking with candidates."

Seasoned children's advocates, from California to Florida and all points in between, rely on proven strategies to highlight children's needs in an election year. Candidate forums, town meetings, and candidate briefings are activities that nonprofits have undertaken with good results, according to child advocates interviewed for this article. (On pages 8 and 9, advocates also describe successful voter registration and get-out-the-vote drives.)

Candidate forums

Since 1987, Coleman Advocates has sponsored candidate nights during election campaigns. In the recent San Francisco mayoral election, the group used a unique format to ensure children's needs were

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Advice from seasoned advocates

(Continued from page 5)

discussed. "Our forum was different from the dozens of others held during the election season, because young people were among those asking the questions," says Brodkin.

Eight youth panelists, ranging in age from 10 to 17, asked the candidates questions on such topics as mandatory curfews and a proposed library bond. Says Brodkin, "It was so powerfully emotional to have a homeless child, for example, ask the candidates what they planned to do to help her family."

"Print and broadcast media are the biggest and most effective megaphones children's advocates have. There's no way, with our modest budgets, that we can get out the word about children's needs without using the news media."

Members of the local nonpartisan group Parent Advocates for Youth, as well as two local newspaper reporters, also asked questions.

With lots of young people and parents asking questions, the forum went on too long, says Brodkin, who advises advocates to keep candidate forums to about 90 minutes. She also counsels advocates to do lots of publicity to get a good turnout. About 300 people attended the Coleman-sponsored mayoral forum. "The person running for office will never forget it," says Brodkin, "if your forum on children's needs was the biggest crowd he or she faced."

Coleman Advocates also trained children and adults to ask questions relating to children at other mayoral forums held across the city. And for three weeks before the election, children delivered handmade arts and crafts to the candidates to remind them of children's needs. Young people from the Bay View area of the city, for example, presented each candidate with a cardboard schoolhouse, representing the school-based community center they wanted for their neighborhood. Children from another neighborhood delivered a picture of a van, with a cartoon asking for money for gas.

The impact of all of these activities on the election was considerable, says Brodkin. "Our forum was received positively by both candidates and voters. And there wasn't one candidate forum in the city where someone didn't ask a question about children. Our new mayor [Willie Brown] has made children a top priority in a way that never could have happened if we hadn't been proactive."

CDF's Hedlund also suggests that advocates ask the people on their mailing lists to hold community gatherings in their homes, churches, or schools, so that more voters in each district have an opportunity to interact with the candidates. The meetings should not be set up as debates, says Hedlund. Instead, those who attend should be encouraged to mingle with the candidates. "This is a great way to get people together to have extended discussions about children's issues," Hedlund says.

Candidate briefings

In 1992, Kansas Action for Children and Kansas Children's Service League teamed up to train 93 volunteers across the state to visit and brief their local candidates on children's needs and urge them to support public policies that benefit children and families. A total of 89 candidates were briefed, and 19 others requested briefing materials.

"The briefings allow us to set up relationships with the candidates—relationships that are particularly valuable with those who get elected," says Dodie Lacey, research and public policy analyst at the Kansas Children's Service League. "The candidates know we have a constituency behind us. And they know who we are, so they can ask us questions later on."

Of the 31 candidates who responded to a survey conducted after the briefings, 22 (71 percent) said the briefing information was "very useful," and the remainder said it was "somewhat useful." Twenty-nine of the 31 responding candidates said they were "highly likely" or "somewhat likely" to call the child advocate who briefed them, if they had further questions.

Using the media

No matter what election activities advocates choose to conduct, they should definitely use the media, says Florida's Levine. "Print and broadcast media are the biggest and most effective megaphones children's advocates have," he says. "There's no way, with our modest budgets, that we can get out the word about children's needs without using the news media."

In Florida, where the highest proportion of voters is older than 60, newspaper coverage of children's services is essential, Levine says. To ensure media coverage, Levine's group meets with editors and reporters when they *don't* have a story to pitch. "Then when we do have a story we want them to cover, we've already established a relationship with them, and they are more likely to pay attention to us," he says. Before the recent mayoral election in San Francisco, Brodkin's group persuaded the community newspaper to include an insert in one issue that detailed the candidates' views on policies affecting children.

In Kansas, the advocacy group Kan-

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Who's running?

To find out who the candidates are in your state and local elections, contact the election board or commission for your municipality. Check your local phone book for the telephone number.

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Special Report

Selected Election '96 Web Sites

General Information Sites

League of Women Voters
http://www.electriciti.com/~lwvus/

Information on voter registration for all states; links to state and local LWV chapters.

Project Vote Smart
http://www.vote-smart.org/

For each senator and representative: voting records, sources of campaign funding, performance ratings by special interest groups, links to WWW sites (if available), e-mail links.

Power the Vote
http://www.lhj-lwv.com/

"The only election web site especially for women," a joint project of the League of Women Voters and the *Ladies' Home Journal*; LWV Voter Guide, *LHJ* candidate profiles.

Campaign/Election News Sites

All Politics
http://allpolitics.com/

Up-to-date news stories from CNN and *Time*; some poll results; state-by-state primary results, including exit polls.

American Voter '96
http://voter96.cqalert.com/

Campaign news from *Congressional Quarterly*; background information on candidates.

Politics Now
http://www.politicsnow.com/

Up-to-date news stories from The *Washington Post, Los Angeles Times, Newsweek, National Journal,* and ABC News; state-by-state information on who's on the ballot, information on House, Senate candidates.

Roll Call
http://www.rollcall.com/

News on House, Senate races, by state and district; congressional news, from *Roll Call.*

Youthlink
http://www.youthlink.org

Chat rooms, on-line surveys; collecting youths' ideas for nationwide nonpartisan National Youth Platform, to be presented at First National Youth Conventions, Aug. 12–13 in San Diego and Aug. 26–27 in Chicago.

Polling Data Sites

The Gallup Organization
http://www.gallup.com/index.html

The Gallup Poll; updates posted for every new Gallup poll.

Poll Track
http://www.politicsnow.com/resource/polltrak/index.htm

Polls done primarily by news media, both national and state; updated almost daily; trends in approval ratings for the major candidates, head-to-head ballot tests.

Major Political Party Sites

Democratic National Committee
http://www.democrats.org/

Briefings, press releases, talking points; links to state Democratic Party WWW sites; links to subscribe to DNC e-mail news service.

Republican National Committee
http://www.rnc.org/

News releases, weekly briefings, backgrounders; links to state Republican Party WWW sites.

NOTE: These sites were active as we went to press, but please be aware that things change rapidly on the Web.

Advice from seasoned advocates

(Continued from page 6)

sas Action for Children is trying to get representatives of the media more involved in community efforts for children. For example, a local reporter has been invited to sit on the Shawnee County committee that will develop a Children's Platform, in an effort to rally the entire county around common goals related to children's well-being.

When working with the media, it's critical for advocates to personalize children's needs, says Levine. "The media don't want to hear from children's advocates—as qualified as they are." What they want, he says, is stories of real people. "An important advocacy strategy in an election year is to share the experiences of individuals who are helped by public services, such as a teen who is homeless but has a place to go to keep safe from the streets."

Don't numb reporters with too many statistics, Levine adds, and avoid jargon at all costs. Taking a 'people' approach to politics is powerful, he adds. "We find people's ears perk up like a terrier's."

Special Report

Registering new voters

In 1992 a group of 400 licensed child care providers in Orlando, Fla., undertook a voter registration drive to increase parents' influence in their state's decision-making. The group—known as the Child Care Coordinating Council—revised its child care enrollment forms to ask parents whether they were registered to vote. Then when parents came to the child care centers for orientation, a deputized staff person was on hand to register them. That year, child care centers in the Orlando area registered a total of 5,000 voters.

Registering new voters is essential to building a larger and more powerful constituency for children. More than one-third of voting-age American citizens aren't registered.

The Florida child care group was able to register voters *before* the national "motor-voter" law took effect at the beginning of 1995, because Florida was among the 20 states, along with the District of Columbia, that already had state laws allowing public and private agencies to register clients in the course of their regular business. Since 1995, the national motor-voter law has required *all* states to offer voter registration at motor vehicle departments and other public and private agencies, and by mail. Although a number of states delayed implementing the federal law, and California challenged its constitutionality in court, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the law last year by declining to hear California's challenge.

In Florida, voter registration at child care centers and other public service agencies, such as health clinics, continues to add new Florida voters to the rolls, says Jack Levine, executive director of the Florida Center for Children and Youth, in Tallahassee. In the past two years, says Levine, child- and family-serving agencies have registered 185,000 people. In that same period, motor-voter has boosted the number of new voters in Florida by 1.4 million.

Registering new voters is essential to building a larger and more powerful constituency for children. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, more than one-third of voting-age American citizens—57.4 million people—aren't registered to vote. Many of those who are unregistered live in low- to moderate-income families: 51 percent of people with annual family incomes of less than $25,000 are registered, compared with 76 percent of those with family incomes over $50,000. And unregistered citizens tend to have less education than those who are registered: just 59 percent of high school graduates are registered, compared with 76 percent of individuals with four or more years of college. "If we can register parents and other adults in these groups and motivate them to vote with children in mind, the children's movement will have more impact in setting local and national priorities," says CDF General Counsel Jim Weill.

Registering is easy

Now that the Supreme Court has upheld the motor-voter law, child- and family-serving agencies and organizations in every state should find out how they can register voters, if they aren't already doing so, says Weill. "Nonpartisan voter registration is a central election activity for nonprofits." Hospitals, like child care agencies, are good places to register new voters, says Morna Smith, director of child advocacy and community relations at Children's Hospital in Columbus, Ohio. Since 1990, Smith has orchestrated voter registration drives at her hospital to coincide with congressional elections. Each drive at Children's—in 1990, 1992, and 1994—has registered about 400 new voters, mostly hospital staff and their families. But with the passage of the motor-voter law, Children's Hospital is considering placing more emphasis on registering patients' families and people in the surrounding neighborhood.

"The volume of people who go through a children's hospital is enormous," says Smith. "At Children's, we have more than 300,000 inpatient and outpatient visits each year, and that doesn't include children's families and other visitors."

Getting out the vote

While nonpartisan voter registration efforts are essential, they don't have much impact unless they go hand-in-hand with get-out-the-vote (GOTV) efforts, say Smith and Levine. "We've found that five out of six parents who work outside the home are not frequent voters—that is, they have voted in only one of the last four elections," says Levine. "Advocates need to figure out ways to inform and inspire parents so that they'll pledge to vote for children."

To motivate parents to vote, Levine's group and other Florida advocates are asking school principals and health care providers to highlight November 5 on the calendars they distribute, and to send periodic reminder notes home

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Register voters now!

To find out how your organization can register voters, call your secretary of state's office today. Time is short for registering voters for the November election.

Election year resources

Organizations

For voter registration and get-out-the-vote (GOTV) activities:

League of Women Voters
1730 M St. NW
Washington, DC 20036
202-429-1965

MANA—a National Latina Organization
1725 K St. NW, Suite 501
Washington, DC 20006
202-833-0060
(Local chapters assist with voter registration drives.)

NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People)
National Office
4805 Mt. Pope Dr.
Baltimore, MD 21215
410-358-8900

NACA (National Association of Child Advocates)
1522 K St. NW, Suite 600
Washington, DC 20005
202-289-0777; fax: 202-289-0776
(Call for names of member organizations in your state.)

National Coalition for Black Voter Participation
1629 K St. NW
Washington, DC 20006
202-659-4929

Project Vote
739 Eighth St. SE, Suite 202
Washington, DC 20003
(202)546-3492

Southwest Voter Registration and Education Project and the Southwest Voter Research Institute
403 E. Commerce
San Antonio, TX 78205
210-222-0224
(Emphasis on Hispanic voter participation issues, in 20 states—southwestern and northwestern, midwestern and northeastern, and Florida.)

For motor-voter law implementation:

ACORN (Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now)
739 Eighth St. SE
Washington, DC 20003
202-547-2500
(Ask about your local ACORN chapter's motor-voter implementation activities.)

Human SERVE
622 W. 113th St., Suite 410
New York, NY 10025
212-854-4053
(Monitors motor-voter implementation in public agencies nationwide; ask about your state's progress. Helps nonprofit service-delivery agencies conduct election-year GOTV and year-round voter registration activities.)

For facts on children's well-being in your state and local area:

Children's Defense Fund
Field Division
25 E St. NW
Washington, DC 20001
202-662-3597
(CDF's Field Division staff also can put you in touch with child advocacy groups in your state or city.)

Annie E. Casey Foundation
111 Market Pl., Fourth Fl.
Baltimore, MD 21202
410-234-2872
(Kids Count projects throughout the country produce annual state and local profiles of the status of children and families.)

Resources

On voting and political campaigns:

Regulation of Advocacy Activities of Nonprofits that Receive Federal Grants. Free; summarizes applicable rules. Also, ***The Rules of the Game: An Election Year Legal Guide for Nonprofit Organizations.*** Basic tax and election law; right and wrong ways to go about voter education activities. $20. Alliance for Justice, 2000 P St. NW, Suite 712, Washington, DC 20036; 202-822-6070.

Voter Registration Implementation Guide for Nonprofits, and ***How to Monitor Voter Registration in Public Assistance Agencies in Your Community,*** and ***Contact Information for Election Officials in All 50 States*** are available from Human SERVE, 622 W. 113th St., Suite 410, New York, NY 10025; 212-854-8727.

What's Your Last Name: Five Steps to Register a New Voter and ***Overcoming Excuses—Transforming a "No" to a Registered Voter.*** Project Vote, 739 Eighth St. SE, Washington, DC 20003; 202-546-3492. Free. Project Vote also has two videos—one for volunteer registrars, the other for organizers of registration drives as well as volunteers; each $6 plus $3 shipping; for both, $10 plus $3 shipping.

You Don't Need a Home to Vote: Voting Registration and Rights Packet. Complete resources for registering voters, including homeless people; a $10 donation is requested. National Coalition for the Homeless, 1612 K St. NW, Washington, DC 20006; 202-775-1322.

Registering new voters

(Continued from page 8)

as election day approaches. Levine's group is using the media—particularly parenting publications—to help spread the word about the importance of voting. His group is analyzing precinct voter rolls to look for neighborhoods where turnout is low. Then his staff will use direct mail and speaking opportunities to explain what's at stake for children in the coming election and to urge parents to vote.

At Children's Hospital, says Smith, staff members hang patient-made posters encouraging people to vote. The auditorium has been opened for a candidates' forum, co-sponsored by CDF-Ohio and featuring free, nonpartisan voter guides for patients, families, and staff. One week before election day, Smith puts a reminder note in the employee newsletter. And on election day and the day before, volunteers hand out election information, including phone numbers for the local election boards and colorful district maps, so voters know where to go to vote.

"Reminding people to vote really helps," notes Smith. "Even with all the media hype about elections, you'd be surprised how many people don't know when election day is."

CDF Resources

Free items

- *Citizen's Action Guide.* Offers tips on how to take action for children, including questions advocates should ask every political candidate and office-holder.
- *Parent's Brochure.* Gives parents 10 ways they can stand for children every day.

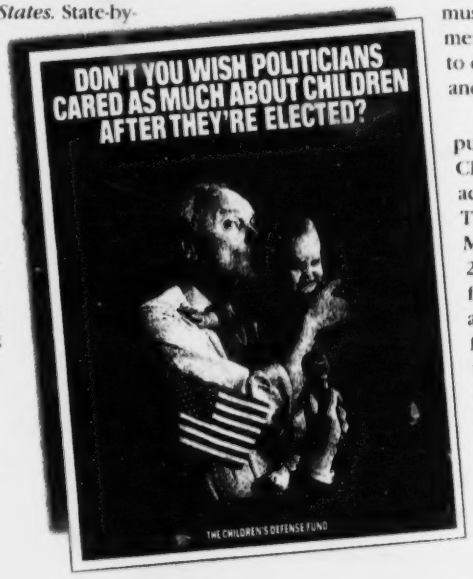
To order free items, write the Stand For Children Action Center, PO Box 75358, Washington, DC, 20013-5358, or call 1-800-663-4032.

Publications

- *An Advocate's Guide to Lobbying and Political Activity for Nonprofits* describes what nonprofits can and cannot do under federal laws and regulations; 20 pp., 1991. ISBN: 0-938008-88-9. $4.95.
- *An Advocate's Guide to the Media;* how to get children's needs covered by television, radio, and newspapers; 24 pp., 1990. ISBN: 0-938008-75-7. $4.95.
- *An Advocate's Guide to Using Data* will help you learn how to select, analyze, and present data effectively; 20 pp., 1990. ISBN: 0-938008-80-3. $4.95.
- *Children in the States.* State-by-state fact sheets on children's status; 102 pp., 1996. $4.95.
- *The State of America's Children Yearbook 1996* is CDF's comprehensive resource on the most recent developments and data concerning children and families; 132 pp., 1996, fully indexed. ISBN: 1-881985-11-3. $14.95.

You may order publications directly from CDF Publications, 25 E Street NW, Washington, DC 20001, 202-662-3652 or FAX: 202-628-8333. Orders under $25 must include payment. Please add $2 to cover shipping and handling costs.

If you wish to publish this or other CDF election year ads, call Zina Thomas in CDF's Media Division, 202-662-3620, for free camera-ready ad slicks. Order full-size poster versions at $5.95 each from CDF Publications.



Questions you may ask every candidate and office-holder

Here are examples of the kinds of open-ended and unbiased questions that representatives of 501(c)(3) tax-exempt organizations may ask candidates. You may include facts and figures about problems, but you may not name any one solution and ask for views on it. You must avoid making any question too pointed or embedding your opinion in it, and you must avoid expressing your opinion of any answer.

1. Healthy Start: What specific steps will you take to guarantee all American children health care now? How would you improve health care access for poor children and pregnant women?

2. Head Start: What will you do now to assure a safe and high-quality early childhood education to get every child ready for school? How will you ensure equal access to quality education for every child?

3. Fair Start: What specific steps will you take to lift children out of poverty? What steps will you take to enable parents to work, and ensure child support by both parents?

4. Safe Start: What will you do to provide teens and young people positive alternatives to the streets after school, on weekends, and in the summer? What will you do to protect children and youths from violence?

Questions you must avoid asking, and why

Remember, you may not show a bias toward or against any candidate or party. You may not reveal your organization's position on an issue, and you may not express your opinion of a candidate's position.

• **Don't ask:** More than 14 million American children are poor. In fact, children are the poorest Americans, while we spend too much on defense. Would you support shifting defense funding and spending the funds on Rep. Q's bill, to lift every child out of poverty? *(Too specific in its proposed remedy; reveals your organization's position on the issue.)*

• **Don't ask:** The XYZ Party [or Candidate XYZ] shows its concern for the future by promising to raise taxes on the wealthiest Americans and use the revenues to pay for Head Start for every eligible child. Do you support this plan? *(Reveals your organization's bias toward a particular party or candidate.)*

• **Don't ask:** You have endorsed Senator Z's proposal for national health insurance that would provide coverage for all children and pregnant women by 1998. How do you defend this unworkable plan? *(Question is too pointed, and points to the answer you consider "correct.")*

by Jim Weill, CDF General Counsel

Playing by the rules: election year tips for nonprofits

An election year is a prime opportunity to raise awareness of children's needs—and to help shape party and candidate platforms and positions so they benefit children.

If your organization is a 501(c)(3) nonprofit, it can undertake some candidate education, public education, and voter participation activities without jeopardizing its tax exemption. However, a 501(c)(3) may *not* conduct any *partisan* political activities. A 501(c)(3) that violates this prohibition may lose its tax-exempt status or be subject to other penalties.

To bring children's needs to the forefront this election year, you may be thinking about publishing and distributing information for candidates and candidate questionnaires, holding candidate forums, and organizing voter registration and get-out-the-vote (GOTV) drives. However, the line between prohibited political campaign activity and permissible voter and candidate education activity can be unclear, and there are *special restrictions* on nonprofit groups that receive federal funding. It's a good idea to seek further legal advice if you are uncertain about how to conduct these and other activities. The following are some general guidelines nonprofits should follow.

Providing information to candidates

You Can: Distribute reports, analyses, polling data, and other information about children's needs to candidates, if the information is made available to all candidates on the same terms and at the same time. Candidates must pay the same charges as other members of the public; if the information is free to the public, it may be given free to candidates. You also may respond to a candidate's request for information, if you already have collected the information for other purposes.

You Can't: Collect information, write background memos, or provide other services specifically for a candidate.

Candidate questionnaires

You Can: Ask candidates to state their positions for the record by submitting questions to them. You may distribute the candidates' answers before an election, as long as the questionnaire and the presentation of answers cannot be taken as an endorsement for one or more of the candidates. The responses from all the candidates should be published, and they should not be edited.

You Can't: Include in the questionnaire or the distribution of the answers any explicit or implicit judgment or evaluation of the candidates' answers, or indicate which answer you prefer, or what is the "right" answer. Questions should be open-ended to avoid this problem (see page 10). *After* the election, you can indicate which answers you prefer, so as to press the winner to keep his or her promises.

Voter registration and get-out-the-vote drives

You Can: Determine whether individuals who use your organization's services are registered to vote, urge unregistered people to register, provide transportation to registration sites, and assist in registering. You also may act as a registrar, if state or local law permits. On election day, you may transport voters to the polls and offer child care or other help.

You Can't: Favor members of one political party or those who intend to vote for a particular candidate when you are helping people register to vote or get to the polls (see page 8).

Candidate forums

You Can: Sponsor or conduct public forums or debates at which candidates appear and state their views. You must invite all viable, qualified candidates to participate, and you must have candidates questioned by a nonpartisan panel or individual, without showing bias for or against any candidate. The discussion should cover a broad range of subjects of interest to the general public.

You can't collect information, write background memos, or provide other services specifically for a candidate.

You Can't: Endorse or oppose any of the candidates who appear, give your organization's position on questions being asked, or otherwise explicitly or implicitly favor one candidate.

Consult a lawyer if you plan to give individual candidates—especially those running for federal office—an opportunity to meet with or address your organization or its clients or constituents.

As an individual, you are completely free, on your own time and without using your nonprofit's resources, to participate in any election activity, provided you do not speak on behalf of your organization and you avoid identifying your nonprofit with your campaign work.

To stand for children, nonprofits must become active in all arenas where decisions are made about children's lives. By helping to conduct voter and candidate education activities in an election year—and encouraging others to get involved, as well—you can make an important difference for children in your community.

For more information, order An Advocate's Guide to Lobbying & Political Activity for Nonprofits; *see CDF Resources,* page 10.

3 Facts
you should know about juvenile justice

1. Except for Iran and Iraq, the United States executes more youths under 18 than any other country.
2. Young people in adult jails are five times as likely to be assaulted sexually as those housed in juvenile facilities.
3. Parent education and drop-out prevention programs would be more cost-effective in preventing crime than California's "three strikes" law, according to new research.

See page 1 for more information.

CDF Reports

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Key steps for children

Action needed	Status (as of August 2, 1996)
Entitlements. Preserve guaranteed funding for AFDC, food stamps, foster care and adoption assistance, child nutrition, Medicaid, SSI, and child support enforcement.	On July 31, the House passed the final version of H.R. 3734, the "welfare reform" bill. Immediately, the President announced he would sign the bill, which the Senate then passed on August 1. H.R. 3734 destroys the AFDC entitlement, eliminates most safety net benefits for legal immigrants, cuts SSI for many disabled children, and cuts the food stamp program by $28 billion. Overall, it cuts $56 billion from these programs. Provisions in earlier versions to block grant the food stamp, child protection, child nutrition, and Medicaid programs are not included in the bill.
Welfare reform. Expand job opportunities, increase the minimum wage, offer child care help, improve child support, and reject attempts to deny aid to families with no other means of subsistence.	
Head Start and child care. Expand funding for Head Start and for child care programs for low-income working families.	The House proposes to increase funding for Head Start by $30.7 million and CCDBG by $15 million for FY 1997. The Senate will act in September.
Health care reform. Extend affordable health care coverage to all children and pregnant women.	The congressional leadership dropped plans to block grant Medicaid. The welfare bill protects Medicaid coverage for poor children, but excludes most legal immigrant children. The Vaccines for Children program, included in the Medicaid law, continues. Negotiations are close to completion on S.1028/H.R. 3103, which protects families from losing insurance coverage for pre-existing conditions.
Juvenile justice and violence prevention. Reauthorize the Juvenile Justice Delinquency Prevention Act (JJDPA), retaining its core protections for children. Fully fund key prevention programs created by the 1994 crime act.	Senate and House committees are drafting juvenile justice bills with varying approaches to juvenile crime, crime prevention, and JJDPA core requirements. Floor action in both houses is likely in September.
Education of children with disabilities. Reauthorize the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA).	H.R. 3268, reauthorizing IDEA, passed the House on June 10. The Senate Labor Committee has finished work on its bill, S.1578, which awaits action by the full Senate.

One step for children:

Plan a Children's Sabbath in your place of worship for the weekend of October 18-20. Call CDF at 202-662-3589 for information and materials.

CDF's legislative hotline tape:
202-662-3678

CDF on the Internet:
http://www.tmn.com/cdf/index.html

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202-224-3121

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Washington, DC 20515

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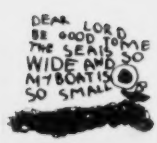

LEAVE NO CHILD BEHIND℠

Children's Defense Fund

CDF Reports

Marian Wright Edelman, President

September 1996
Volume 17, Number 10

New welfare law

Need for state advocacy intensifies

The 1996 welfare bill that Congress passed and President Clinton signed in August ends the 61-year-old national commitment to meet the basic needs of children in poor and low-income working families. Starting no later than July 1997, children will have to rely on the state in which they live to make sure they have adequate food, shelter, and clothing, if their parents can't provide these necessities.

"The elimination of the national guarantee to protect children is a moral outrage," says CDF President Marian Wright Edelman. "It is a massive betrayal of children that places the lives of many of our youngest and most vulnerable citizens in grave danger." While some states will act responsibly to assist children and their families, Edelman says, history shows that many states will fail to ensure that children have what they need to grow into healthy, responsible adults.

The new welfare law (the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996, formerly known as H.R. 3734) will make it much more difficult for poor and low-income families—most of whom already are working and struggling to get by—to obtain help in times of need. The bill contains huge cuts in food stamp benefits—$28 billion over six years—that will make 14 million children and their families hungrier. It makes drastic changes to Supplemental Security Income (SSI), denying help to more than 300,000 children with such disabilities as autism, tuberculosis, and mental retardation. It cuts billions of dollars of help for *legal* immigrants, including children. The bill also abolishes Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), the JOBS program, and Emergency Assistance to Families with Children, and replaces these services with a flat (fixed-amount) block grant of federal funds to states, called Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF). The block grant has prohibitively strict work rules and a rigid five-year limit on the length of time a family can receive help, with states allowed to shorten the time as much as they choose. Experts estimate that all together, these cuts and structural changes will remove an aver-

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New welfare act

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age of $1,300 a year from the incomes of the lowest-income one-fifth of families with children (8 million families), and will make more than 1 million additional children poor.

Work rules unrealistic

The new law's work requirements for families that need temporary assistance are highly unrealistic, says Deborah Weinstein, director of CDF's Family Income Division. By 2002, half of all welfare recipients in each state must work at least 30 hours a week. This translates into 1.7 million mothers needing to be placed in work-related activities, without adequate state funding to provide them with job training or education, and without the assurance of child care. By comparison, just 450,000 parents nationwide in 1994 participated in the JOBS program, which aims at preparing welfare mothers for work and helping them find jobs. "No state has come close to achieving the scope of the work requirements in the new welfare law," says Weinstein. (See the Special Report for a summary of that law.)

"It will take tremendous efforts by advocates in the state capitals to protect children and families from the worst effects of the new law."

Given the flawed nature of the new block grant, child advocates have a huge task facing them in the years to come, Weinstein says. "It will take tremendous efforts by advocates in the state capitals to protect children and families from the worst effects of the new law. Advocates will have to use all of their knowledge about children's needs, their political savvy, and their commitment to working together in broad-based coalitions, to make sure the law is implemented in the most positive way possible in their states."

To protect children from the worst outcomes of the law, says Weinstein, "advocates must take the initiative. They need to help state and local officials think carefully about the decisions they are facing, so they can use their state resources wisely and fairly and minimize the potential harm to children." Already, says Weinstein, some governors and state officials and many local officials are "realizing that their state may be left holding the bag, while the federal government walks away from its responsibilities."

No need for haste

First, advocates need to be aware of the timetables for state action in the welfare bill, says Weinstein. States can choose to delay the start of the new TANF block grant until July 1, 1997; therefore state officials and legislators should not take hasty action to change assistance for children and families. But legal immigrants will be denied food stamps and Supplemental Security Income almost immediately. States willing to make up some of these cuts with their own funds would have to act quickly to avoid a cessation of all assistance.

In some cases, the effective date of the new TANF program will be pushed back further, because states that already have waivers to conduct experimental AFDC programs may be able to substitute the work requirements in the waivers for those in the new law, says CDF Senior Staff Attorney Nancy Ebb. She advises advocates in the 43 states with current AFDC waivers to discuss this possibility with state officials. Continuing under their current waiver plans would give states the chance to maintain work programs and work requirements that may be more realistic.

Since welfare caseloads in most states have been shrinking because of the strong economy, the federal block grant in most cases will be sufficient in the short term for states to maintain current eligibility rules and assistance levels for children and families. However, the next recession will leave many states fiscally stranded, so planning for the future is crucial. "Advocates should press state officials to hold public hearings on the new law," says Weinstein. Hearings will let policy makers explore how administrative savings can stretch diminished funding to serve all children in need, and figure out ways to secure jobs for those parents required to leave welfare for work. Current and former welfare recipients, providers of services for children and families, and employment experts all should participate in the hearings.

Critical guarantees

Advocates should demand that their states guarantee families protection from destitution, says CDF General Counsel Jim Weill. "Just as states guarantee children a public education, each state should guarantee eligible families that they won't be turned away or placed on waiting lists for assistance when they need it."

CDF–Ohio Director Mark Real says Ohio has created, with bipartisan support, a $100 million reserve that can be used to help families during a recession, when greater numbers of families need aid but state block grant funds remain static. "Advocates should encourage their states to consider a reserve fund or something similar," says Real, "to protect families during recessions." For example, during the recession in the early 1990s, the new welfare act's $2 billion contingency fund would have covered just one-third of the additional welfare costs created nationwide by the growth in unemployment and increased demands on the welfare system.

Advocates also should urge their states to invest at least as much *state* money in their new welfare programs as they now invest in AFDC. The new law allows states to reduce their own spending by as much as 25 percent without penalty, but there is no way, says Weill, that states can help families make the transition to work and adequately protect children without maintaining at least their current level of effort. And when the next economic recession hits and caseloads rise, states that have less funding available will be even less able to help every child who needs assistance.

There is no way that states can help families make the transition to work and adequately protect children without maintaining at least their current level of effort.

State officials also should retain the authority to set basic rules statewide, says Weill, even though the new federal law doesn't require welfare programs to be uniform throughout a state. While it may make sense in some states to give localities discretion in running many as-

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CDF Reports

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Writer: Sydney Stephenson Clevenger

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CDF Greater Columbus, 52 East Lynn Street, Suite 400, Columbus, OH 43215, Susan Lewis, Director

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A Voice for Children

by Marian Wright Edelman

Turning evil into good

Saint Augustine of Hippo told us, in the fifth century, that God permits evil so as to transform it into greater good. As a person of faith, I believe this. I trust God to turn the 1996 election year political abuse of children, poor families, and legal immigrants, through pernicious welfare legislation, into a greater good—into a mighty movement to leave no child behind.

We *must* be instruments of that greater good so desperately needed by our children and our country. We must stand up for what is right and just for our children. So while my heart is broken at the betrayal of our children by a majority of political leaders from both parties, my spirit is not broken.

At the Stand For Children rally last June at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C., we let the world know in no uncertain terms that we are committed to improving the lives of children in America. I am, and I hope you are, more determined than ever to *stand up, to stand strong, and to stand together* to make sure that no political leader of any party—in our White House or state houses, in our Congress or state legislatures, in our county boards, city councils, or city halls—will ever again feel free to act deliberately to impoverish and mistreat millions of children.

I am...more determined than ever to *stand up, to stand strong, and to stand together* to make sure that no political leader of any party...will ever again feel free to act deliberately to impoverish and mistreat millions of children.

If 3,727 local, state, and national organizations could come together and mobilize hundreds and thousands of parents, grandparents, young people, and community and religious leaders to Stand For Children, we can stand up for children now and say to our political leaders that we *will not* let our children be hurt. We can:

- **Spread the word.** Hand out copies of the Stand For Children "Citizen Action Guide" to neighbors, friends, relatives, and colleagues, as well as to teachers and businesspeople whom we know. (Call the Stand For Children Action Center, 1-800-663-4032, to obtain free copies).
- **Conduct voter activities.** Hold vigils outside local candidate forums. Train children and adults to ask questions about children's issues at candidate forums. Write candidates a letter, explaining children's needs and asking them to make a specific commitment to children. Get involved in voter registration and get-out-the-vote efforts. (For further suggestions, see the "Campaign for Children" box, page 7.)
- **Vote.** Go to the polls on November 5 to make sure that political leaders get the message that we want children and other vulnerable citizens protected, nurtured, and treated justly.

I am ashamed that so many political leaders in the richest nation on earth think it is morally and politically acceptable to make cuts that target the poorest and weakest among us. It's a huge job, but we can and must change that, by speaking out for children and fighting back with all our might. Let's turn our shame into effective action, seek just policies for children, and stand up to those in power who vote and act to hurt children.

Because someone cares

Freedom Schools motivate children to succeed

He was a troubled boy from a single-parent home. His mother struggled with drug addiction. "Last year at the BCCC's Freedom School, his behavior was horrible," recalls Verneta White, an intern who taught at both the 1995 and 1996 Mt. Pleasant Freedom School in Kansas City, Mo. "We always had to tell him to please quit that, please sit, please read. We wondered if we were getting through."

This year, says White, the boy's mother didn't get the Freedom School registration notice, but he came back on his own. "He told me he came back because someone cares," says White. "He made the effort to come back to where something positive was happening. And he really wants to read."

"A wonderful relationship develops between a child and someone who is older but is not a parent."

More than 1,400 children in low-income communities in 10 states and the District of Columbia found wholesome education, recreation, and nutrition at 27 Freedom Schools this summer. Inspired by the Freedom Schools created in the South during the civil rights movement, the BCCC's five-week summer program was developed in 1992 in CDF's Marlboro County, S.C., office. The schools combine a reading-based classroom curriculum with supervised play, community service projects, parental involvement, and nutritious meals and snacks provided by the U.S. Department of Agriculture Summer Food Service Program. (Some Freedom Schools now continue as after-school programs during the school year.)

Instruction in conflict resolution, added in 1995 as a separate class, this year was integrated into lesson plans throughout the curriculum, to teach children that everyday life continually presents conflicts, along with opportunities to resolve them constructively. In the reading classes, for example, teacher/interns and children talk about the conflicts portrayed in the stories they read. The interns help the students, who range in age from 5 through 18, think about the consequences of violent responses, and about nonviolent alternatives.

Developing leadership

Freedom Schools are staffed by a dedicated corps of about 200 college students and college-age adults. These young people, members of the Black Student Leadership Network, are trained each summer at the Ella Baker Child Policy Training Institute at the former farm of the late author Alex Haley, in Clinton, Tenn. The interns say their hard work is richly rewarded by the changes they see in the children who come to the Freedom Schools.

For one thing, the children's grades "went up tremendously," says Walter McDonald, who served as an intern in the Mt. Pleasant Freedom School in 1995 and 1996. During the intervening school year, he and other interns kept in touch with some of the children through cards and letters, encouraging them to do well in school. This year, those children "feel pretty good about themselves," says McDonald. "They gain self-esteem from the way we carry ourselves and the way we talk to them and tell them they're somebody. We have career days, get them thinking about becoming a doctor or a teacher."

Most of the children have never before known someone who is in college, says Shyree Holmes-Leverett, site coordinator at Mt. Pleasant. "They start to say, 'I want to go to college.' One of our seventh-graders, from a single-parent home, realizes her mother won't be able to afford college, and has begun asking about scholarships."

Building confidence

Even the youngest children develop new confidence, reports Antinique "Michelle" Rawlings, who served this year and last at Sojourners Freedom School in Washington, D.C. Several of the youngest have made great strides, Rawlings says, "especially through the conflict-resolution work. They have taken on real leadership roles. If somebody hits somebody, the children have learned to tell an adult, and not just hit back." And this year, says Rawlings, the returning children showed the newer children what to do.

Of course, in the first week or two, says Holmes-Leverett, it's a struggle to get many of the children to participate. "You have to prod and coax them. But later on, it's 'Please call on me,' and 'I want to do this.'"

Children feel safe

"We make them so comfortable," explains White, a pre-med junior at Kansas State University, "that they can talk and sing. If they don't know the words to a song, we encourage them to get involved anyway—'Clap your hands,' we'll say—and soon they realize, 'I can do it, and no one's laughing at me.' Once the children are comfortable with the Freedom School routine," White says, "they take the books as a challenge. It's not 'We gotta read again,' it's 'Let's read!'"

White and McDonald were two of nine returning Freedom School interns at Mt. Pleasant this past summer. "I love it," says McDonald, now a senior in education at Louisiana's Grambling State University. "Your job can never be done, and I wanted to continue." And it wasn't only the interns who came back—so did the volunteers and the kitchen staff. "Freedom School consumes you," Holmes-Leverett says, "but it's not as if you don't want it to. A wonderful relationship develops between a child and someone who is older but is not a parent."

It's those relationships that explain the powerful impact Freedom Schools have on both the staff and the children.

For information on how your child-serving agency can sponsor a Freedom School, or how to sign up as an intern, call Freedom Schools Coordinator Kia Chatmon at 202-662-3516.

Special Report

Welfare Law

How the welfare act will work

The welfare act (the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996, formerly H.R. 3734) slashes a total of $54 billion over six years from a broad range of federal safety net help for children and families. The following summary describes some of the act's technical aspects, to help advocates as they work with their state governments on implementation. (Next month, *CDF Reports'* Special Report will provide more information about how states can minimize the welfare act's harm to children and families.)

Welfare help for families

The act abolishes Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), the primary cash aid program for families, as well as JOBS (the work and training program for welfare recipients), and Emergency Assistance to Families with Children (emergency help up to one month per year to families with children). These programs are replaced by a block grant of federal funds given to states (now called Temporary Assistance for Needy Families—TANF). A state's welfare program does not need to be uniform across the state, but families must get fair and equitable treatment. There is no explicit requirement that families get cash aid, and it is conceivable that states could provide vouchers or services rather than cash help. Administration of the program could change dramatically, with an option for administration by private charities, religious organizations, or other private entities instead of by state or county welfare offices.

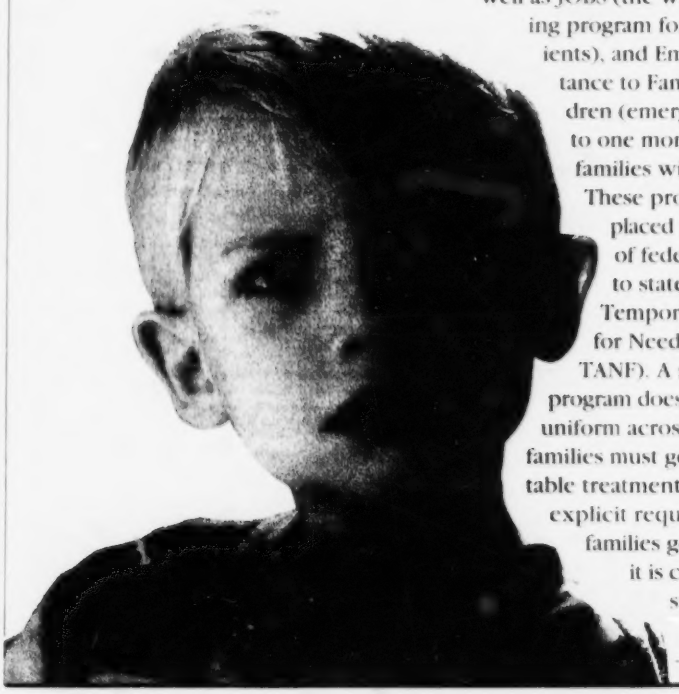

Photo © Susan Derry

Effective date. Effective October 1, 1996, federal law no longer guarantees welfare help to any individual or family. Generally, welfare provisions and the new block grant funding take effect no later than July 1, 1997. (Legal immigrants face losses sooner.) However, states may begin their program earlier by submitting a state plan to the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (HHS). A summary of the plan must be available to the public; local governments and private sector organizations must be consulted about the plan and given at least 45 days to comment on it, so that services are "provided in a manner appropriate to local populations." For states with existing AFDC waivers, some provisions of the new block grant can take effect later than July 1, 1997.

Funding. Under current law, states receive federal funds on an open-ended, entitlement basis. Under the new law, states will receive a "capped" block grant, set at $16.4 billion nationally. States can choose the higher of several base years to determine the level of their block grant. No more than 15 percent of the block grant can be used for administration.

Additional, small sums are appropriated for several purposes, including

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How the welfare act will work

(Continued from page 5)

supplemental grants to states with high-growth populations and low amounts of federal welfare spending per poor person; bonuses to "high-performing" states; bonuses to states that demonstrate a net decrease in out-of-wedlock births; and loans at market interest rates to states.

Effective October 1, 1996, federal law no longer guarantees welfare help to any individual or family.

Recession protection. Under current law, if caseloads go up because of a recession, federal funding can go up to help states meet the increased need. Under the new law, basic funding is capped and cannot increase. The law does establish a $2 billion contingency fund that states can qualify for, based on high unemployment or sharp increases in food stamp participation. However, this $2 billion is grossly inadequate. It would have covered only one-third of the additional AFDC costs fueled by recession-driven caseload increases in the early 1990s.

Maintenance of effort. Under current law, federal funding has been 50 to 78 percent of AFDC, JOBS, Emergency Assistance, and welfare-related child care costs, and states have had to put up matching funds for the rest. Under the block grant, a state no longer must provide matching funds but must maintain its spending at a level that is at least 75 percent of its 1994 spending for these programs. States that do not meet mandatory work requirements must satisfy an 80 percent maintenance requirement. To qualify for contingency funds, states must meet a 100 percent maintenance requirement.

Transferability. States may transfer up to 30 percent of welfare block grant funds into either the Child Care and Development Block Grant (CCDBG) or the Title XX Social Services Block Grant—or a combination of the two. No more than 10 percent of welfare block grant funds can be transferred into Title XX. The Center on Budget and Policy Priorities estimates that this transfer provision, combined with allowing states to reduce their level of welfare spending, will allow states to withdraw as much as $38 billion from welfare and work programs over the next six years, sharply reducing basic subsistence help to children and families.

The guarantee of help. Under current law, states have great flexibility to determine eligibility guidelines and the level of help. However, current federal law provides that if a child and family meet a state's basic categorical requirements and income guidelines, they *must* be provided with cash aid. The new law specifically eliminates this promise of help. This provision, however, does not bar states from building such a promise into their own laws.

Fair treatment and appeal rights. The state plan must explain objective criteria for the delivery of benefits and for fair and equitable treatment, as well as how the state will provide opportunities for recipients to appeal decisions. Current federal law and regulations are more explicit. Because the new provision is quite general, it will be important to flesh out due-process protections in state law.

Work requirements. The new welfare act dramatically increases work requirements without increasing investment in work. The Congressional Budget Office estimates the shortfall of work-related costs at nearly $13 billion. Individuals *must* participate in work activities within two years of receiving aid. In addition, unless a state *opts out* of the requirement, within one year of enactment of the act, individuals who have received aid for more than two months must earn their grant money by working at a community service job for a number of hours to be set by the state.

Effect of existing state waivers. Changes made by the act (apparently including work requirements) do not apply to states with waivers in effect as of the law's enactment, for the duration of the waiver. According to HHS, at least 33 states have waivers relating to "work requirements."

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Work requirements under the new welfare act

Fiscal Year	Minimum Percentage of Caseload Participating	Minimum Hours of Work Required per Week per Participant
1997	25	20
1998	30	20
1999	35	25
2000	40	30
2001	45	30
2002	50	30

These are percentages of *all* families receiving assistance (unlike present law, which allows certain adults to be excluded based on exemptions such as disability or age of child), except that states *may* exclude parents with a child under age 1. States *may* also count parents with children under 6 working 20 hours a week as engaged in work.

The scope of what counts as work is narrower than under current law, with a sharply diminished emphasis on training and education: recipients can count only 12 months of vocational education toward work requirements, and only 20 percent of the caseload can count vocational education activities toward work requirements. Starting in 1999, individuals may satisfy participation requirements by at least 20 hours of work, with the remaining required hours met through work-related or high school equivalency education.

How the welfare act will work

(Continued from page 6)

Work penalties for individuals. Adults who cannot meet work requirements because they can't find or afford child care for a child under 6 cannot be penalized. Otherwise, if an adult recipient fails to participate, states shall reduce the family's assistance by the adult's share of the grant (at state option, the penalty can be higher, and can include termination of help to the entire family). Adults can lose Medicaid as well as cash aid.

Work penalties for states. States that fail to meet work requirements face fiscal penalties of up to 5 percent of the block grant for the first year of violation, with greater penalties in subsequent years (up to a maximum of 21 percent of the block grant).

Family cap. There is no explicit family cap provision (denial of assistance to children born after the family goes on assistance) in the act, making family caps a state option but not a requirement.

Minor parents. Minor parents can receive block grant funds only if they are living at home or in another adult-supervised setting. They must attend high school or an alternative educational or training program as soon as their child is at least 12 weeks old.

Time limit on help. Federal funds can be used to provide a total of no more than five years of aid in a lifetime to a family. States may give hardship exemptions to up to 20 percent of their average monthly caseload, but parents either disabled themselves or caring for a dependent with a disability make up more than 25 percent of the caseload, and families living in areas of chronic unemployment would also need exemptions. There is no requirement that states provide vouchers to meet the needs of children, once the family has reached its time limit. In fact, aside from the hardship exemption provision, block grant funds *cannot* be used to aid children beyond the time limit. While a portion of Title XX funds may be used to provide some vouchers for children, *this approach is wholly inadequate to meet the need, given the act's 15 percent cut in Title XX funding.*

Medicaid benefits. The act does not create a Medicaid block grant (which was proposed originally). Generally, states must continue providing Medic-

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Campaign for children

It is critical for children's advocates to find out how political candidates plan to address the recent major cuts in federal support for children. To make sure candidates see children's needs as a top priority, advocates should, before the election on November 5:

Ask candidates their positions on the issues

- Host candidate forums and attend other candidate forums in your community.
- Send each candidate a questionnaire, asking how he or she intends to improve children's lives. The following are some questions you might ask:
  1. Given the huge cuts in federal assistance, how will you make sure thousands of children in our state won't be denied the basic services they need?
  2. What specific steps will you take to ensure adequate nutrition for children, in light of severe cuts in food stamps at the federal level?
  3. What steps will you take to protect legal immigrant children and families, who will be denied benefits under almost every federal program?
  4. Will you make it a goal in office to ensure that every child has health care?
- Follow up your questionnaire with a phone call to find out each candidate's answers. Be sure to let the candidates know you will hold them accountable for their promises *after* the election. (Note, however, that if your nonprofit organization plans to distribute the answers to your members or to the public *before* the election, these questions may be too biased; you should consult an attorney on what questions to ask and how to distribute answers, to avoid endangering your organization's nonprofit status through impermissible political activity.)
- Call in with questions for candidates appearing on talk shows.
- Send a copy of your candidate questionnaire to your media contacts and suggest they do stories about the candidates' views on children.

Distribute information on the election and children

- Find out why people don't vote, and publish the answers in your organization's newsletter. List reasons why people *should* vote.
- Distribute nonpartisan information at community meetings. Ask local service agencies, such as homeless shelters, drop-in centers, and soup kitchens, to offer such information to families coming in for assistance. To be nonpartisan, voter information must be about all candidates and not favor one candidate or party, explicitly or implicitly.
- Ask religious organizations in your community to distribute nonpartisan voter information to their congregants.

Get out the vote on November 5

- Enlist volunteers to drive people lacking transportation to the polls, and to care for children while parents vote.
- Gather your neighbors or members of your community group and march to the polls. Carry signs that encourage people to vote.

How the welfare act will work

(Continued from page 7)

aid to families that would be eligible for AFDC under the terms that applied on July 16, 1996. This means that families that would have qualified for AFDC under old guidelines but that now lose cash aid because of new block grant provisions will at least continue to qualify for Medicaid. However, states may deny Medicaid to adults who lose cash aid by not meeting work requirements.

The Office of Management and Budget projects that child care funding for welfare families will fall $2.4 billion short of the need.

Child care

The act eliminates the guarantee under current law that child care help *will* be provided to families on welfare that need child care to participate in work or training, and to former welfare families that previously received one year of transitional child care help if they left welfare due to earnings. It also eliminates the special category of "At Risk" child care, which helped families in danger of needing welfare if they couldn't get child care help.

In place of these programs, the new law combines new child care funding with the existing Child Care and Development Block Grant (CCDBG). Generally, the provisions of current CCDBG law (including health and safety protections) apply to this new combined funding stream. The total funding, $22 billion over seven years, provides some $6.6 billion more than states would spend if they simply continued spending at their 1995 annual rate. *Despite this new money, if all states meet their new and much higher welfare work targets, the Office of Management and Budget projects that child care funding for welfare families will fall $2.4 billion short of the need.*

Of the overall $22 billion, $7 billion is "discretionary" funding—slightly more than is now provided under the existing CCDBG. "Discretionary" funding must be appropriated by Congress, and there is no guarantee that it will be. The remaining $15 billion is a capped entitlement. To receive the entitlement money, states must maintain spending at their 1994 or 1995 level (whichever is higher), and must provide state matching funds for $6.6 billion in "new" child care money at the 1995 Medicaid match rate. States must set aside a minimum of 4 percent of child care funding for improving quality, expanding the supply, and providing consumer education.

Food stamps

The act cuts $23 billion from the food stamp program over six years (not including cuts to legal immigrants). By capping the food stamp deduction for shelter costs, it reduces food stamp help for millions of poor families with children that pay more than 50 percent of their income for housing. Downward adjustments to the Thrifty Food Plan, the low-cost food budget used to calculate the amount of food stamps a family receives, will reduce aid to millions more. According to the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, households with incomes below half the poverty line ($7,800 for a family of four) will absorb about half of the food stamp cuts. Families with children will shoulder about 70 percent of the cuts, and about 300,000 legal immigrant children will lose food stamps. The new law does not contain the House's provision for optional food stamp block grants.

Child nutrition programs

The act cuts close to $3 billion over six years from child nutrition programs, including reductions in the Child and Adult Care Food Program (CACFP). These reductions, and costly new paperwork requirements, are likely to force CACFP sponsors serving hundreds of thousands of children to drop out of the program, reducing nutrition aid to poor children in day care. The act also eliminates the option of serving an additional meal or snack to children who are in child care centers for more than eight hours per day.

Supplemental Security Income

The act establishes a new definition of childhood disability, limiting SSI to children who meet a set of official conditions called the "medical listings." These more-restrictive criteria will cause more than 300,000 otherwise eligible children to be denied SSI by 2002. Children who lose SSI will continue to receive Medicaid only if they are eligible on other grounds. The Congressional Budget Office estimates that roughly 40,000 to 50,000 of these children will lose Medicaid.

Help for immigrant children

The act cuts billions of dollars of help for legal immigrants, including children. Immediately upon enactment, legal immigrants now in the country may not receive SSI or food stamp help. At state option, as of January 1, 1997, legal immigrants may also be denied welfare help, social services, and non-emergency Medicaid.

Legal immigrants who enter the country after the new law's enactment are subject to even more sweeping denials of help. During the first five years here, they are *barred from receiving most non-emergency means-tested federal help* (including child care, food stamps, SSI, non-emergency Medicaid, and welfare). After the first five years, in determining eligibility for means-tested federal programs, agencies will deem the income of the legal immigrant's sponsor available to the immigrant until he or she becomes a citizen. Thus, many very poor legal immigrants may be denied help, on the basis of their sponsors' income. States also may choose to deem sponsors' income available, in determining eligibility for state means-tested help.

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How the welfare act will work

(Continued from page 8)

Child support

The act makes a broad array of child support changes that are generally very positive. It builds on successful state models, requiring all states to use certain proven practices (for example, registries of newly hired employees, so child support withholding can begin quickly when a noncustodial parent changes jobs). It improves interstate enforcement by bolstering federal services to locate parents across state lines and by requiring all states to have common paternity procedures in interstate cases.

The act, however, ends the $50 monthly child support pass-through that previously gave children on welfare at least some benefit from child support paid on their behalf. The act does give children formerly on welfare priority over the state in most instances when child support is owed to both.

Most new child support provisions take effect October 1, 1996, but the act provides a grace period so that states can pass required legislation during the first upcoming legislative session.

Title XX Social Services Block Grant

The act cuts 15 percent of funding for the Social Services Block Grant. While it allows states to transfer up to 10 percent of the welfare block grant into the Social Services Block Grant, such a transfer can be made only at the expense of reduced cash aid for children and families. Transferred funds may be used only for children and families under 200 percent of poverty. The Title XX cuts mean that communities will have fewer resources for services to low-income children and families, and to elderly, homeless and disabled individuals.

Child protection programs

The welfare act contains very few references to child protection programs, because generally the federal guarantees of foster care and adoption assistance (room and board subsidies, administration, and training) and of Medicaid for foster and adopted children are maintained as in current law. The act does not contain the child protection block grants proposed in the House-passed bill. However, the 15 percent reduction in Title XX Social Services Block Grant funds likely will result in cutbacks in child protective services in many states.

The few foster care amendments in the act require that states consider giving preference to adult relatives over non-related caregivers when determining foster care placements, and open up eligibility for federal foster care payments to for-profit child care institutions as well as nonprofit and public institutions. Enhanced funding for states' foster care, adoption, and child welfare tracking systems is extended for one year.

For further information, contact the Children's Defense Fund. Please direct your questions as follows:

Welfare:
Deborah Weinstein, 202-662-3565
Nancy Ebb, 202-662-3539

Child Support:
Nancy Ebb, 202-662-3539

Child Care:
Helen Blank, 202-662-3547

Child Protection:
MaryLee Allen, 202-662-3573

Health:
Stan Dorn, 202-662-3595

New welfare act

(Continued from page 2)

pects of jobs programs, Weill says, determining the basic rules for eligibility and benefits, and guaranteeing fair and equitable treatment of families needing aid, are among the areas that must remain a *state* responsibility.

Child care

Advocates also are encouraged to press for a state guarantee that child care will be available when parents participate in work activities, says CDF Child Care Director Helen Blank. The new federal law allows states to require parents of children 6 and older to work, *even when the parent can't find child care*. "If states want to succeed in putting parents to work and preparing the next generation for productive lives, states must invest at least enough resources in child care to make sure that children younger than 10 are well cared for while their parents work," Blank says.

Keep pressing Congress

Advocates must do all they can to keep the pressure on Congress and the President to undo as much of the harm in the bill as possible, and as quickly as possible. Among the many features that need fixing are the lack of any basic guarantees for children, the lack of any block grant funds to keep children from destitution when a family hits the time limit, the lack of any way to protect families and states from the effects of recessions, and the ban on a wide range of benefits for legal immigrants, as well as the massive cutbacks in food stamps and inadequate funding for child care and work.

The bill's concerted attack on children and families is "morally indefensible," says Weinstein, "and as a practical matter, it places huge new burdens on states. Advocates must work with officials at every level of government and with the families that will be affected, for immediate corrective legislation at the federal level and for the best state plan possible within this very flawed framework."

Short Takes

Child care still tops list of city children's needs

Child care is one of the most pressing needs of children and families in cities across the United States, says the National League of Cities (NLC). Regardless of income, whether the family is headed by a single parent or a married couple, what city a family lives in, or the size of the city, most families have trouble finding affordable, good-quality child care, according to a recent NLC survey of mayors.

A similar NLC survey conducted in 1988 told the same story, indicating that families' child care worries haven't eased much in seven years.

The 780 mayors who responded to the latest survey—*Critical Needs, Critical Choices*—were almost unanimous in their opinion that child care and before- and after-school programs that keep children safe are the most crucial need of families with children between the ages of 6 and 9. And three-quarters of the mayors said child care was the most pressing need for families with children from birth to 5 years.

More than half of the mayors (57 percent) said their cities are spending more on all services for children and families than they did five years ago. (Just 7 percent said they are spending less.) The additional money comes from general municipal revenues or fees for services, said the mayors.

But at the time of the survey last fall, more than half of the mayors already expected that meeting the needs of children and families in their cities would be harder in the future if the congressional majority's welfare legislation became law.

Photo © Mary Liepold

Critical Needs, Critical Choices *can be ordered, prepaid, from the NLC, PO Box 491, Annapolis, MD, 20701; 301-725-4299. The cost for NLC members is $10 plus $3 shipping; nonmembers pay $15 plus $4 shipping.*

Teen childbearing exacts huge costs on families and nation

Teenage childbearing is an enormous cost to society and has devastating effects on parents and children, according to a new report by the New York-based Robin Hood Foundation.

Teenage childbearing costs U.S. taxpayers $6.9 billion each year in increased welfare and food stamp benefits, medical care and foster care expenses, incarceration expenses, and lost tax revenue, say the authors of *Kids Having Kids: A Robin Hood Foundation Special Report on the Costs of Adolescent Childbearing.*

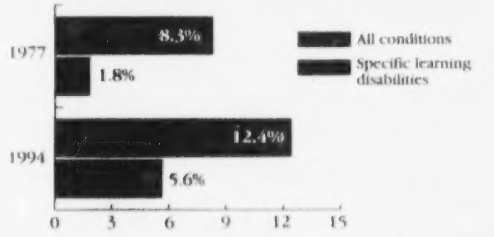
The study focused on the roughly 175,000 adolescents each year who have their first baby at age 17 or younger, comparing outcomes for them and their children with those for women who have their first child at age 20 or 21. The children of teenagers are:

- Twice as likely to be abused or neglected.
- Eighty-three percent more likely to become teenage mothers themselves, if they are girls.
- Up to 2.7 times as likely to land in prison, if they are boys.
- Fifty percent more likely to repeat a grade; they also perform significantly worse on tests of cognitive development.

The researchers also found that seven out of 10 adolescent mothers will drop out of high school and in their first 13 years of parenthood will earn an average of $5,600 annually—less than half the poverty level. Teen fathers will finish an average of 11.3 years of school by the age of 27 and earn, on average, $4,732 less annually than men who delay fatherhood until age 20 or 21.

To order the free report, call the Robin Hood Foundation, at 212-227-6601.

Percent of public school students in federal programs for students with disabilities



Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, *The Condition of Education, 1996*, p. 140.

Public schools serving more students with disabilities

Many more students with disabilities, especially those with learning disabilities, are receiving special services today than in years past, according to a new report from the U.S. Department of Education. Between 1977 and 1994, the number of students with disabilities in federal programs increased 46 percent, while the total public school enrollment dropped 2 percent. Among students with disabilities, the proportion of those with specific learning disabilities rose, while the proportion identified as mentally retarded or suffering from speech or language impairments fell.

The Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA), which must be reauthorized by Congress this year, requires that all children with disabilities be given a free and appropriate education designed to meet their unique needs. The federal government pays a portion of the extra cost of special education, which, says the report, ranges from 1.9 to 10.6 times the cost of serving a student without a disability, depending on the nature of the special services.

CDF teen volunteer carries Olympic torch

If community service were an Olympic event, CDF teen volunteer **Yemi Oladeinde** definitely would win a gold medal. In the past year, the 18-year-old Wilson Senior High School graduate has logged more than 250 hours at CDF after school and on Saturdays, helping to answer phones, update databases, and get out mailings.

So when CDF volunteer coordinator **Kathie Villa** was asked last fall to nominate a community hero worthy of carrying the Olympic torch during part of its route through Washington, D.C., in late June, she immediately thought of Oladeinde.

"Yemi is an incredible person," says Villa. "She's not only made a great contribution to CDF, but she's an outstanding leader at her school and in the community. She also has a lot of responsibility at home, where she regularly takes care of her three younger brothers."

At Villa's urging, Oladeinde wrote a brief essay about the importance of volunteerism and related it to her experiences at CDF. She was "shocked" when she heard she was selected to be an Olympic torchbearer. "Running isn't exactly one of my hobbies," says Oladeinde, with a laugh. "I was glad when I found out that I only had to run about three blocks!"

Yet the short run was memorable, says Oladeinde. "What amazed me most was the amount of support from the crowd," she says. "A lot of people came to watch. And I got to meet a former Olympian. It was a fun day."

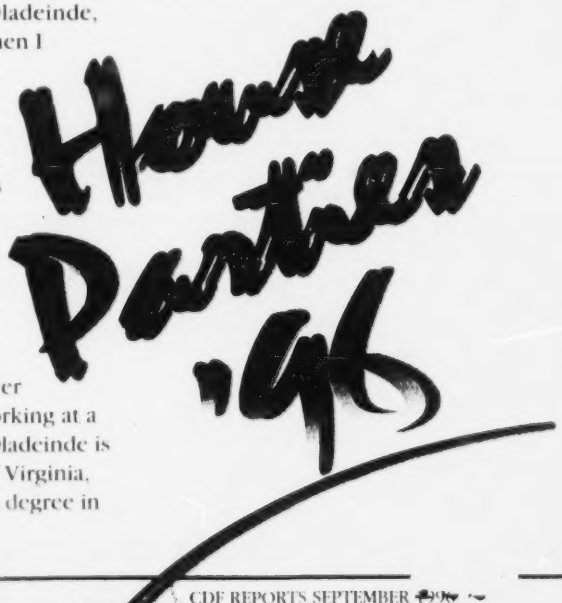
After spending the summer volunteering at CDF and working at a local law firm, this month Oladeinde is heading to the University of Virginia, where she plans to pursue a degree in business or pre-medicine.

It's not too late to make plans to attend one of the hundreds of Black Community Crusade for Children (BCCC) House Parties being held across the country on September 26. The House Parties will raise money to match a $3 million challenge grant from the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, to support BCCC activities and endow the former Alex Haley farm.

"We can help people find out if there's a party going on in their community, so they can meet others who want to work as a team to improve the lives of children," says CDF Development Campaign Coordinator **Wayne Marshall.** "Even if people aren't able to attend one of the many House Parties at schools, community centers, churches, synagogues, and mosques across the country, they can call us to find out how to make a donation, or how to offer their services."

Every dollar the Black community raises from House Parties will be matched one-for-one by the Mott Foundation.

For more information, call Wayne Marshall, 202-662-3676, or Connie Eiseman, 202-662-3531.



Barbara Kelley-Sease has joined the Black Community Crusade for Children (BCCC) as its director. For the past 10 years, Kelley-Sease has been executive director of the Union Industrial Home for Children in Trenton, N.J. There, she developed and implemented a residential program for pregnant and parenting teenage mothers, and programs for teen and adult fathers.

Barbara Kelley-Sease

As BCCC director, Kelley-Sease will oversee current BCCC activities, such as the Freedom Schools, which provide summer education for children ages 5 to 14; the Black Student Leadership Network (BSLN), which is training a new generation of servant-leaders; and the Safe Start Campaign, designed to raise awareness about violence and mobilize communities to keep children safe. Kelley-Sease also will take the lead in planning the BCCC's future, and in increasing the group's public visibility.

"We cannot continue to lose our children to the streets, drugs, violence, and teen pregnancy, and hope that others will provide solutions," she says. "We must begin to rebuild our communities— communities that will keep our children safe and will give them hope rather than despair."

Kelley-Sease is vice president of the New Jersey Association of Children's Residential Facilities, is a member of the National Practitioners Network for Fathers and Families, and serves on the advisory committee of the New Jersey Health Initiatives Program for the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation.

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3 Facts
you should know about the new welfare law

1. The act abolishes the 61-year-old federal safety net guarantee to meet the basic needs of children living in poverty.
2. The act requires 1.7 million AFDC mothers to go to work by 2002, but does not fund adequate training or child care.
3. States have until July 1, 1997, to put the block grant work rules into effect, but legal immigrants will be denied assistance almost immediately.

For more information, see page 1 and the Special Report, starting on page 5.

CDF Reports

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Key steps for children

Action needed	Status (as of August 29, 1996)
Entitlements. Preserve guaranteed funding for AFDC, food stamps, foster care and adoption assistance, child nutrition, Medicaid, SSI, and child support enforcement.	In August, Congress [illegible] and the President signed H.R. 3[illegible] Law 104-193, which de[illegible]lement, eliminates most safet[illegible]d immigrants, cuts SSI for man[illegible]and cuts the food stamp prog[illegible] Overall, it cuts $54 billion fi[illegible]s. Provisions in earlier version [illegible]e food stamp, child protecti[illegible] and Medicaid programs are n[illegible]ently passed P.L. 104-188 (H.[illegible]e minimum wage by 90 cent[illegible] the next year.
Welfare reform. Expand job opportunities, increase the minimum wage, offer child care help, improve child support, and reject attempts to deny aid to families with no other means of subsistence.	
Head Start and child care. Expand funding for Head Start and for child care programs for low-income working families.	The House proposed [illegible] for Head Start by $30.7 million and CCDBG [illegible]45 million for FY 1997. The Senate will act in September.
Health care reform. Extend affordable health care coverage to all children and pregnant women.	The congressional leadership dropped plans to block grant Medicaid. The welfare bill protects Medicaid coverage for most poor children, but excludes most legal immigrant children, and some disabled children. The Vaccines for Children program, included in the Medicaid law, continues. The President signed S.1028/H.R. 3103, now Public Law 104-191, which protects families from losing insurance coverage for pre-existing conditions.
Juvenile justice and violence prevention. Reauthorize the Juvenile Justice Delinquency Prevention Act (JJDPA), retaining its core protections for children. Fully fund key prevention programs created by the 1994 crime act.	Senate and House committees are drafting juvenile justice bills with varying approaches to juvenile crime, crime prevention, and JJDPA core requirements, some very harmful to children. Floor action in both houses is likely in September. 1994 crime prevention programs are being funded at a tiny fraction of needed levels.
Education of children with disabilities. Reauthorize the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA).	H.R. 3268, reauthorizing IDEA, passed the House on June 10. The Senate Labor Committee has finished work on its bill, S.1578, which awaits action by the full Senate.

Ask all candidates

for federal, state, and local offices what specific steps they will take if elected to ensure that no child is left behind.

CDF's legislative hotline tape:
202-662-3678

CDF on the Internet:
http://www.tmn.com/cdf/index.html

Capitol Hill switchboard:
202-224-3121

U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

U.S. Senate
Washington, DC 20510

White House comment line:
202-456-1111
E-mail: president@whitehouse.gov

President Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

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Children's Defense Fund

CDF Reports

Marian Wright Edelman, President

October 1996
Volume 17, Number 11

Children of working parents squeezed out of health care

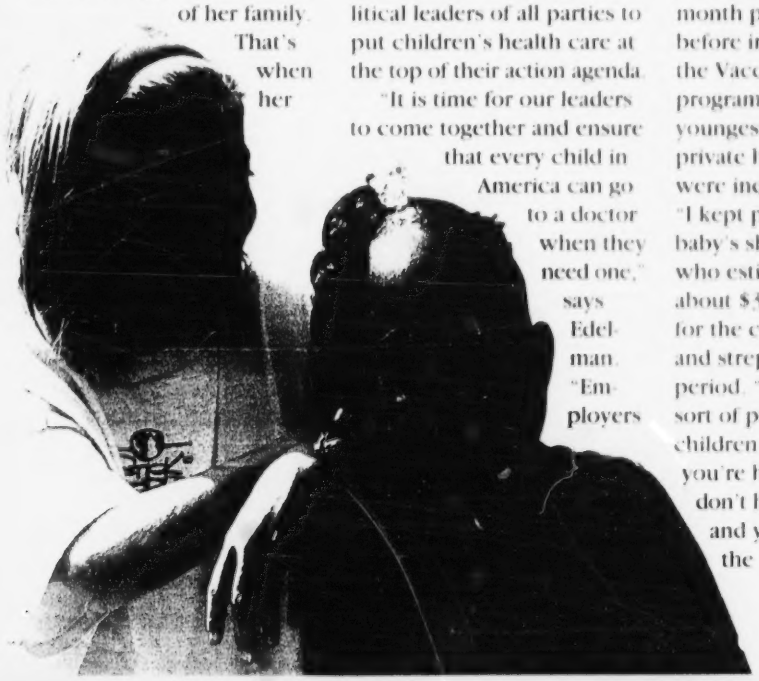
Sylvia Pierce of Everett, Mass., knows what it's like to worry about health care for her children. When her husband was murdered, in the fall of 1993, Pierce, who was pregnant at the time, and her three children were no longer insured through his employer. When Pierce gave birth to the couple's fourth child, she left her teaching job to take care of her family. That's when her scramble to find health coverage for her children began in earnest. "As a teacher," says Pierce, "I know that children need health care to keep them on the right track, so they can pay attention in class and learn."

As increasing numbers of children in America go without health insurance, CDF President Marian Wright Edelman is calling upon political leaders of all parties to put children's health care at the top of their action agenda.

"It is time for our leaders to come together and ensure that every child in America can go to a doctor when they need one," says Edelman. "Employers are dropping health coverage of children at an appalling rate and the children who suffer are the ones whose parents earn too much for Medicaid and too little to buy insurance. We have to reverse the trend of squeezing children in the middle out of health care, and ensure that every child can get medical care."

Pierce remembers one particularly anxious eight-month period in early 1994, before implementation of the Vaccines For Children program, when her two youngest children had no private health insurance and were ineligible for Medicaid. "I kept postponing the baby's shots," says Pierce, who estimates she spent about $300 on medical bills for the children's earaches and strep throat during that period. "I've always been the sort of person who takes her children to the doctor. But you're hesitant when you don't have health insurance and you have to put out the money yourself."

(See page 2)



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Children of working parents squeezed out of health care

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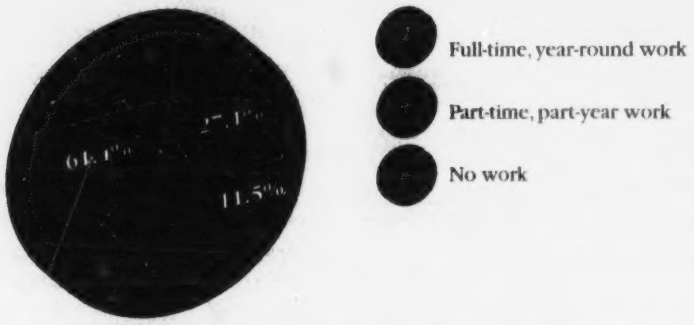
More children without insurance

The number of children in America without health care is a serious and growing problem, says CDF Health Director Stan Dorn. According to a study released by the General Accounting Office (GAO) in June, 10 million children under 18 years old (14.2 percent) had no form of health insurance throughout 1994. This is the highest level since 1987, says Dorn, before Medicaid was expanded to cover far more children and pregnant women in working families that weren't receiving welfare but had low incomes.

"Without insurance, many sick children don't see a doctor until health problems worsen and become emergencies that endanger their health and increase medical costs in the long run."

Private employers continue to drop hundreds of thousands of children each year, says CDF General Counsel Jim Weill. "The Medicaid expansions of the late 1980s and early 1990s offset this for a while. Medicaid has kept children healthy, and enabled families to keep working rather than to seek welfare." According to the GAO report, 61 percent of children covered by Medicaid in 1994 had a working parent. But, Weill says, "the Medicaid expansions have slowed, and employers continue to take away health care from workers and their children. If we don't address this problem, the numbers of children without health care will grow and grow."

How many uninsured children have parents who work?



Source: "GAO Health Insurance for Children: Many Remain Uninsured Despite Medicaid General Expansions," HeHS-95-175, July 1995, pg. 16, figure 5.

Children need health insurance, says Dorn. "Without it, many children don't get important preventive care," he says. "Many sick children don't see a doctor until health problems worsen and become emergencies that endanger their health and increase medical costs in the long run. When a child without health insurance gets sick in a working family on a tight budget, the family may have to choose between necessary health care and other necessities, such as food or heat."

According to a 1995 GAO study, nine out of 10 uninsured children had parents who worked, and six out of 10 had parents who worked full-time during the entire year. "Many parents who get up every morning and work long hours week after week cannot provide their children with health care," says Dorn. "This is part of the broader story of millions of hard-working Americans facing uncertain employment, stagnant wages, and declining benefits."

Dorn says that private insurance plans are dropping coverage of dependents at an appalling pace. Since 1989, an average of more than 1 million children a year have lost private health insurance from all sources, including employers. According to the GAO study, only 65.6 percent of children younger than 18 (46.3 million children) had private health insurance in 1994—the lowest level in the eight years these data were collected.

The GAO also found that while adults' health coverage rates have leveled off in recent years, children's coverage continues to drop. "Today, the American most likely to lose health insurance is a child," says Dorn. "Unless there is immediate, significant health reform, by the end of the century more than two in five American children will lack private health insurance."

Problem likely to worsen

Loss of employer-based insurance coverage is only one factor threatening to drive up the number of children without any health insurance in the future, says Dorn. The new welfare law also will contribute to the problem. Thanks to the hard work of advocates, the new law does not make huge cuts to Medicaid or convert it to a block grant, as Congress originally proposed. But it does give states the option of denying non-emergency Medicaid coverage to legal immigrants and their children now residing in the United States, and *prohibits* those who will enter the country legally in the future from receiving non-emergency Medicaid benefits for themselves and their noncitizen children for at least five years.

In addition, tens of thousands of children with disabilities will lose Medicaid coverage under the new welfare

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Editor's Note

CDF Reports welcomes readers of *Necessary*, the quarterly newsletter of the Black Community Crusade for Children (BCCC). Beginning with this issue, the two newsletters have been consolidated. A new section of this newsletter, focusing on news from the BCCC, debuts on page 15.

Another new feature, Stand For Children, premieres on page 4, following up the historic June 1 event and keeping readers current on activities of the Stand For Children Action Center.

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Director of Publications:
Donna M. Jablonski

Managing Editor: Marge duMond

Editor, *CDF Reports*:
Sydney Stephenson Clevenger

Writer: Ed Wiley III

Production Manager: Janis Johnston

Desktop Publishing Specialist:
Anourack Chinyavong

Subscriptions: David Spencer

Administrative Assistant: Sandy Adams

Children's Defense Fund

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Director of Government and Community Affairs: Jay Hedlund

Director of Development: Donald L. Hense

Director of Finance and Administration: George R. Lasnier

Director of Communications:
Lynn Bowersox-Megginson

CDF Ohio, 52 East Lynn Street, Suite 400, Columbus, OH 43215, Mark Real, Director

CDF Greater Cincinnati, 258 Erkenbrecher Avenue, Cincinnati, OH 45229, Eileen Reed, Advocate

CDF Greater Columbus, 52 East Lynn Street, Suite 400, Columbus, OH 43215, Susan Lewis, Director

CDF Minnesota, 550 Rice Street, Suite 106, St. Paul, MN 55103, Jim Koppel, Director

CDF Marlboro County, 117 Cheraw Highway, Bennettsville, SC 29512, Marian David, Director

CDF New York, 200 Church Street, 2nd Floor, New York, NY 10013, Donna Lawrence, Director

CDF on the Internet:
http://www.childrensdefense.org

A Voice for Children

by Marian Wright Edelman

Make lemonade

As the old saying goes, "When life hands you lemons, make lemonade." Children's advocates have an *enormous* opportunity, in 1997 and beyond, to turn the unjust welfare repeal into *real* welfare *reform* for children at the state and local levels.

The Children's Defense Fund and the Black Community Crusade for Children (BCCC) already are working to seize this opportunity with child advocates, state and local agencies, and the hundreds of thousands of parents, grandparents, students, educators, service providers, and clergy who participated in Stand For Children Day. We hope everyone who cares about children will join this effort to:

• **Ensure that states give parents the help they need to secure and keep *real* jobs that can lift children and families out of poverty**. We must fight to ensure that parents are taught the skills they need to compete for stable jobs with decent wages.

Children's advocates have an enormous opportunity to turn the unjust welfare repeal into *real* welfare *reform*.

• **Educate state policy makers about the link between work and child care**. Parents' work efforts will not succeed unless they can find and afford reliable, safe care for their children. Urge that a guarantee of quality child care for younger children, and after-school and summer care for school-age children, be added to the promise of public education for every child whose parents move from welfare to work.

• **Persuade state policy makers to create a *state* guarantee that every child can receive help in time of need**. No child should go without the basic necessities.

• **Insist that states *prevent* welfare by ensuring every child a healthy start in life**. Like public education, health care for every child now should be guaranteed. We cannot rest while 10 million American children are locked out of the health care system. Of these 10 million children without health insurance, 90 percent have working parents, and 65 percent are in two-parent families (see page 1). These are parents who work hard for a living and play by the rules.

• **Strengthen child support initiatives**. A majority of the children receiving public assistance do not receive child support. We are working with advocates so that parents who cooperate with child support agencies can be assured that everything is being done to collect money from the delinquent parent.

• **Preserve the Medicaid, child welfare, and child nutrition guarantees that protect children's health and well-being**. CDF and BCCC believe deeply that America has an obligation to protect and strengthen what works for children. With the help of many advocates, we are working to ensure jobs and right the wrongs done to legal immigrant children and their parents.

• **Stop child abuse and neglect before it happens**. We will work with state and local advocates to support and strengthen families so that they can take responsibility for protecting their children from violence, abuse, and neglect. We must all focus on getting families the help they need to work and be self-sufficient, to learn good parenting skills, and to understand their children's special needs and disabilities.

We didn't want welfare repeal but we all want *real* welfare *reform*, which strengthens families, enables parents to work, and protects children. Let us use this opportunity to work together in the most creative ways possible to make children's lives better and to have a powerful movement to Leave No Child Behind.

Taking action for children

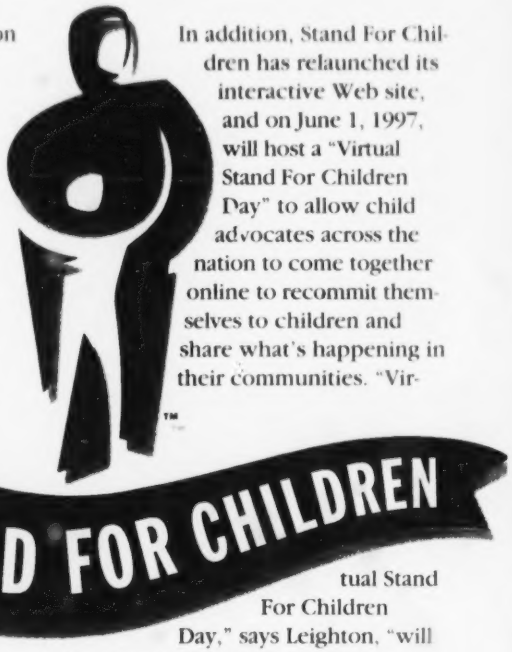
All across America, children's advocates are joining forces to convert the spirit and momentum of Stand For Children into local action for children. In communities from California to New York and from Alaska to Florida, Stand For Children Action Teams (CATs) are gearing up to improve the lives of children.

Some CATs have 10 people, others have 60. Some focus on volunteering, others on encouraging local members of the press, employers, and elected officials to stand for children. Some CAT members are concerned parents and citizens who never before have been involved in a cause, while others work for children every day. In short, there is no single model for what a CAT or CAT member is or should do, says Eliza Leighton, deputy director of the Stand For Children Action Center. "Just as communities throughout America vary, so do the CATs," she says.

In communities from California to New York and from Alaska to Florida, Stand For Children Action Teams (CATs) are gearing up to improve the lives of children.

One CAT member in Ft. Myers, Fla., has decided to run for the local school board, while other members plan to brief legislators regularly on the needs of children. To encourage people in Michigan to take more responsibility for children, the CAT there held a statewide Stand For Children rally on the grounds of the state Capitol in Lansing on October 5. Those attending were asked to pledge to vote on November 5, and to volunteer their time to help children. Attendees also were encouraged to bring at least one new pair of children's shoes, for distribution to needy children in the community.

In Cleveland, Ohio, the leaders of several neighborhood centers have returned to their communities from Stand For Children Day and begun voter registration drives. In addition, the Neighborhood Centers Association, which oversees the city's 21 neighborhood centers, has asked parents to turn off the television set for longer periods each day and encourage their children to read during that time. The group also is working with the school district to ensure that each public school student has an up-to-date textbook to use and take home at night.



Sharing what works

The Stand For Children Action Center in Washington, D.C., has several tools that give CATs ideas about how best to help children in their communities. They include:

- A *Citizen's Action Guide*, which describes simple ways in which individuals can stand for children every day.
- *Stand Update*, a monthly newsletter with timely information about how people are standing for children around the country.
- A series of *Action Sheets* that provide how-to's on a range of projects, such as conducting immunization campaigns and building safe playgrounds.
- *Internet Guides* (beginning and advanced versions), which give easy instructions and inexpensive ways to find the chat groups, home pages, and child-oriented organizations online.
- CAT Manuals and CAT Kits for those wanting to start CATs in their own communities.

In addition, Stand For Children has relaunched its interactive Web site, and on June 1, 1997, will host a "Virtual Stand For Children Day" to allow child advocates across the nation to come together online to recommit themselves to children and share what's happening in their communities. "Virtual Stand For Children Day," says Leighton, "will educate uninformed Internet users about the challenges facing America's children and the many opportunities to be part of the solution.

"There are so many great models for helping children out there," she says, "that it's not necessary to reinvent programs."

Get in the spirit

CATs are using a variety of Stand For Children products as fundraisers to help local groups support their efforts. These include T-shirts that can be localized with an organization's name, heart-shaped Stand For Children buttons and stickers, videos of the June 1, 1996, rally at the Lincoln Memorial, holiday cards, and Stand For Children mouse pads.

To order Stand For Children materials or to learn more about CATs in your community, write Stand For Children, 1834 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20009; visit the Web site at www.stand.org; call 800-663-4032; or send an e-mail to TellStand@aol.com.

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Special Report

New Welfare Law

Advocates help states plan *real* reforms

Photo © Mary Ann Chastain

Child advocates all across the country see the new welfare law as a real setback for children, but also as an opportunity to advocate for their states to create jobs that move families out of poverty, guarantee safe child care for every child whose parent goes to work, offer child support, and provide children a chance to grow up healthy and educated.

Advocates in Ohio, for example, are briefing community leaders about the new act and asking them to increase work placement and child care programs and to continue education and training for parents without high school diplomas. Advocates in Missouri this summer produced a long-range "Agenda for Children" and have used it to impress upon voters, political candidates, and the media how important it is for children to have access to safe child care and health care. And in New Jersey, a coalition of advocates meets with the governor's staff every three weeks to talk about ways to help families work while protecting children.

The welfare repeal law, parts of which became effective October 1, ends the six-decade-old national guarantee of cash assistance to eligible poor children and their families, turns control of welfare and some related services over to the states, and reduces future federal spending on child and family assistance and other human services by $54 billion over the next six years. Thanks to the hard work of advocates, the law does not block-grant Medicaid, child protection, or nutrition programs such as school lunches and food stamps, and the cash and child care block grants have a few important protections that were not in the original bill.

While states have until July 1997 to decide how to convert their Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) programs into the new Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) programs, states already are facing tough challenges to find jobs for parents on welfare, keep those parents working, and ensure that children have safe child care while their parents work.

"The most important role that child advocates can play right now is to propose a positive agenda," says CDF–Ohio Director Mark Real. "Advocates need to say, 'This is how many jobs will be needed; this is how much child care will be needed.' Our job as advocates is to make sure that people understand what needs to be done to make the new welfare plan work for families."

Work as a team

One of the first challenges for advocates will be to think about *all* of children's needs. For example, says Real, advocates need to be careful not to push for more child care at the expense of education and training for parents on welfare, or cash help for families, since all are essential to children's well-being.

To keep a broad perspective, Real suggests that advocates form strong local

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Advocates help states plan *real* reforms

(Continued from page 5)

coalitions of people from all sectors in the community, or use existing coalitions. "Working in a coalition gives you a whole range of perspectives," he says, "and people bring different ideas and concerns to the table." There are natural allies around the welfare act because of the cross-cutting impact of its various provisions, says Real. Providers of services to homeless families, child welfare agencies, child care providers, and educators all are very concerned about new demands on their services.

These coalitions should include not just "traditional" children's advocates, such as service providers and educators, but new partners as well, says Jeanne Milstein, legislative liaison for the Connecticut Commission on Children and Families. She suggests bringing in law enforcement officials, business owners, landlords, clergy, and others.

Telling it like it is

To ensure that state and local policy makers hear from the greatest possible number of different people—especially families that receive services—about the impact of the new law, advocates should insist that state officials hold public hearings to discuss the state's options, says CDF Family Income Director Deborah Weinstein. "Public hearings can help states be realistic about what works and what doesn't."

While the new law requires states to have a 45-day comment period on their plans, it does not require them to hold public hearings. Some states, says Weinstein, appear intent on ignoring even the 45-day comment period. "In states that refuse to conduct an open process," she says, "advocates should consider convening their own hearings, to air critical implementation issues and give voice to people directly affected." Advocates should urge states to conduct focus groups, briefings, and special surveys to learn what families most need.

Advocates also can make a difference by meeting one-on-one or in small groups with their state legislators to discuss children's needs under the new welfare act, says Real. "Most state legislators learn by having someone whose views they respect come in and talk to them," he says. People often hesitate to talk to their legislators because they feel they don't know enough, says Real. "But," he says, "you only need to know key points from your own experience—like what a successful job program would be, or the number of children waiting for child care in your town or congregation—in order to get the conversation started and make a difference for children."

Use anecdotes and stories of local children when you talk with legislators, and bolster your statements with statistics about children in your community, advises Real (see Media Tips, page 17). Be sensitive to the language you use when talking with political leaders, so they'll understand what you're talking about, says Milstein. For example, she says, "instead of talking about 'quality' child care, we talk about 'safe' child care."

Information about children's needs can have more impact when it comes from people who do not usually advocate for children, says Milstein. For example, the Connecticut Commission on Children and Families asks local police to talk to community leaders about the increasing number of child accidents and deaths that occur in unregulated day care. Similarly, employers are often the best spokespersons for the supports parents need if they are to succeed over time in jobs.

Another unique way to educate policy makers is to persuade them to visit children and parents who are receiving services, says CDF Child Watch Director Sharon Ladin. "Getting legislators and community leaders out of

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Effective dates

Advocates should keep in mind the following dates when helping states implement changes in the new welfare act:

August 22, 1996:

- Over the 12-month period beginning on this date, legal immigrants now in the country, including children, will lose Supplemental Security Income (SSI) at the time of eligibility redetermination, which must be accomplished by August 1997. (For other rules on immigrants, see "Take Action to Help Legal Immigrants," page 10).

October 1, 1996:

- A state can opt into the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) block grant if it submits a state plan.
- Most new child support provisions take effect, although there is a grace period for provisions that require state legislation.
- Legal immigrants newly applying for SSI or food stamps will be denied assistance.

January 1, 1997:

- States may opt to deny welfare help, social services, and non-emergency Medicaid to legal immigrants now in the country, including children.

April 1, 1997:

- Legal immigrants now in the country, including children, will lose food stamps as early as this date, and no later than August 22, 1997.

July 1, 1997:

- Last date for a state to make effective the new TANF block grant and most other welfare provisions.
- Disabled children who are currently eligible for SSI, but are found ineligible under the new rules, will be able to receive benefits until this date, and children whose redeterminations have not been completed will remain eligible until a final determination is made.
- States must submit, to the Department of Health and Human Services, a child care plan for the Child Care and Development Block Grant (CCDBG).

October 1, 1997

- Mandatory and matching child care funds are available.

Advocates help states plan *real* reforms

(Continued from page 6)

their offices and showing them how a Head Start center is getting children ready for school and helping parents prepare for work," she says, "gives them a chance to see firsthand how important children's services are."

States making progress

Advocates in Ohio have discovered that service providers, civic groups, and educators are eager to learn about likely effects of the new welfare law. In July, Real says, 200 people gathered in Columbus for a citywide briefing; 60 people showed up for a mid-August briefing in Cincinnati; and another 50 met in September for a briefing in Toledo.

"The people who attend our briefings get a real sense of the opportunity for action," says Real. "We're emphasizing the initiatives in the state budget and encouraging people in local communities to make sure state agencies and government officials know about children's needs."

CDF–Ohio staff members also are attending meetings in smaller communities throughout the state and visiting community-based programs. Says Real, "It makes you more credible with decision makers if you know what people are thinking all across your state, and how the services in various communities work."

Advocates in New Jersey also have made educating public officials their major thrust. A broad-based coalition of advocates there last year analyzed the impact that Gov. Christine Todd Whitman's proposed welfare reform would have on children. As a result, the governor's staff invited the advocates to participate in a regular series of discussions about children's needs. Now, about 10 New Jersey children's advocates meet with the governor's staff every three weeks.

"We've made a lot of progress this summer in the state's thinking about key policy areas," says Ciro Scalera, executive director of the Association for Children of New Jersey. For example, the original draft of the governor's proposal mentioned only jobs, not education and training, as a way to help families move off welfare. "Now we're a lot further along than that," he says. "State officials understand the importance of education and training to welfare reform, especially to young women who need college, or who dropped out of high school and need skills."

The exchanges of ideas with the governor's staff also helped tone down some of the more punitive measures in the proposal, says Scalera, such as the limit on the length of time a needy family can receive assistance. While it's anyone's guess what the state's plan ultimately will look like, "we expect our efforts will make the first year of the state's transition plan a heck of a lot better than the sticks and sanctions that would have been imposed, without enough resources to help parents succeed."

In Missouri, too, advocates brought children's issues to the forefront of state planning for block grant imple-

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Advocates' Checklist: Cash assistance

To help make sure your state's Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) program goes as far as possible to meet children's needs, urge your state policy makers to:

✔ Reject any suggestions to shorten the time limit on assistance to less than the cumulative five years. With job preparation and placement help, many parents will find jobs before the time limit has elapsed. But many others, including many parents with disabilities or large families, those living in rural or depressed areas, those with limited education, and those escaping from domestic violence, may well need five years' assistance during their lifetimes before they can find and keep stable family-supporting employment.

✔ Retain statewide authority to set benefit levels and assure equitable treatment for applicants and recipients, rather than allowing counties to set their own levels and rules.

✔ Choose to be guided (as the new law allows) by a definition of the term *work* that includes training, when that is part of a current welfare waiver that applies in your state, rather than by the narrower definition in the new law. This choice will enable your state to maintain more realistic work rules with a greater chance of leading to stable employment.

✔ Invest state funds to help families in ways that go beyond the limits imposed by the new federal law. For example, your state can use its funds to:

- **Continue assisting families when the parent cannot work but does not meet federal disability standards.**
- **Continue partial assistance to poor working families that reach the time limit.**
- **Provide education and training, so parents can compete for better, more stable jobs.**

✔ Continue providing cash assistance to legal immigrants (see page 10).

For more information, call CDF Family Income Director Deborah Weinstein, at 202-662-3565.

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Advocates help states plan *real* reforms

(Continued from page 7)

mentation, says Director of Program Ruth Ehresman, of Citizens for Missouri's Children (CMC).

Since June 1995, CMC has been talking and working with state officials about looming federal budget cuts. Missouri advocates adopted a "children's platform" to help guide Missouri in the event that block grants became a reality. More than 75 organizations endorsed the platform, which has been used over the past year to lobby state legislators for greater investments in children.

And this past July, the advocates produced a long-range "Agenda for Missouri's Children," which includes expanding health care for uninsured children and establishing livable wages for all families that work. As a result of these efforts, a CMC staff member was placed on the state's Welfare Reform Coordinating Committee, which advises the state on how best to use its federal and state dollars.

Don't hurt children

A simple way to help states make decisions about services under the new law, says CDF's Weinstein, is to encourage government officials to ask themselves whether their proposals help or harm children. "The new block grants challenge us to create initiatives that help parents on welfare find and keep stable employment," says Weinstein. "If we do not work together, families that reach the time limit without the skills to compete for work will face destitution. States *can* meet children's needs, despite the restrictions of the new law. We have an obligation to join together to give states the political will to do so."

Advocates' Checklist: Child support

To make sure your state sees to it that noncustodial parents help support their children, urge your state policy makers to:

✔ Make child support services available at the same offices parents visit for welfare services (for example, by stationing a child support worker at the welfare office). This will minimize burdens on parents as it helps caseworkers obtain information from parents and enables them to check on families at key transition times—for example, when parents are about to leave welfare for work—to make sure they are getting needed child support help.

✔ Automate and centralize child support collection records and procedures to move cases along quickly, as is required by the new law. Such automation helps make sure cases don't get lost, and frees up overloaded caseworkers to work the harder cases.

✔ Ensure that states implement new policies in a way that will help the broadest number of families. For example, states will have to suspend or revoke driver's licenses, professional or vocational licenses, and recreational licenses if the absent parent falls behind in child support payments and there is no repayment agreement. States like Massachusetts and Maine, which automatically match overdue child support cases against motor vehicle records and automatically notify the debtor that a license may be revoked if there is no repayment agreement, have been very successful in collecting child support through this mechanism. States that use license revocation only on a limited case-by-case basis, when contempt of court charges are filed because a parent has failed to pay support, will see little impact from the provision.

✔ Put more resources into establishing paternity. For many children, this is the key entry point: until paternity is established, a child born out of wedlock cannot get child support. Under the new law, states must do outreach about paternity and must make it easier for fathers to acknowledge paternity voluntarily.

✔ Continue to ensure that TANF children benefit from child support paid on their behalf, by allowing them to keep some portion of child support with no cut in their TANF benefits. While the new law eliminates federal funding for the $50 "child support pass-through" that previously existed in Aid to Families with Dependent Children, states can choose to continue this policy with state funds. A pass-through also encourages custodial parents to pursue child support and encourages non-custodial parents to pay it.

✔ Screen welfare families to identify those experiencing domestic violence and refer these families to the appropriate services. Inform families about the "good cause" exception to the requirements of cooperating with child support enforcement, if cooperating would endanger the child or parent, and grant the exception in appropriate cases. And don't reduce or end the grants of parents who, through no fault of their own, cannot supply required information.

✔ Keep parents involved in and informed about their cases, as the new law requires.

✔ Ensure that child support workers take the time to counsel parents about the importance of child support, discuss concerns about child support, and outline the process that will be followed in their cases. Such counseling is key to a successful partnership between the parents and the child support agency.

✔ Address resource and staffing shortages that hamstring child support enforcement. In some states, child support workers have caseloads ranging from 1,000 to 3,000 families. Even a far more highly automated system cannot succeed unless workers have more manageable caseloads.

For more information, call CDF Staff Attorney Nancy Ebb, at 202-662-3539.

Special Report

Take action to help legal immigrant children

Provisions in the new welfare law that cut billions of dollars of help for legal immigrants are harmful, unjust, and must be reversed, says Josh Bernstein, policy analyst at the National Immigration Law Center.

"The new law completely reorients the relationship between immigrants and our government," says Bernstein. "It tells legal immigrants that even though they are paying taxes and doing everything that we ask them to do, we're still not going to provide them with assistance." That attitude will particularly hurt children, says Bernstein. "Of the estimated 1.1 million children likely to be thrown into poverty under the new law," he says, "an estimated 40 percent are legal immigrant children."

Under the new law, legal immigrants already in the country may not receive Supplemental Security Income (SSI); those currently receiving such assistance will see it terminate within about one year. Beginning January 1, 1997, a state can deny legal immigrants already in the country cash assistance through Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF), non-emergency Medicaid, and other help. And, come April 1, 1997, legal immigrants now in the country will begin to lose food stamps when their eligibility is redetermined, to be completed for most legal immigrants by August 22, 1997. As is currently true, the new law counts the income of sponsors of legal immigrants already in the country when determining who is eligible for assistance.

New legal immigrants will be subject to even more sweeping denials of help. During their first five years in the United States, they will not be allowed child care, food stamps, SSI, or TANF. After a new immigrant has been in the country for five years, and until he or she becomes a citizen, the state will count the sponsor's income as available to the immigrant when determining eligibility for assistance. Even if both the sponsor and the new immigrant have below-poverty incomes, their combined income could make the immigrant ineligible for help.

Illegal immigrants will receive no federal benefits, except in certain emergency situations, and for testing and treatment of communicable diseases.

Advocates can help lessen the impact of the new law, says Bernstein, by getting actively involved in the state rule-making process. They can hook up with those who monitor the process, urge the state to hold hearings or forums before the rules are drafted, and make sure to respond when regulations are published for comments. The language of the law is very ambiguous in some areas, says Bernstein, and public input will help clarify these areas and determine the outcome for immigrant children.

For starters, he says, advocates should urge states to turn down the option to deny TANF, Medicaid, and other social services to legal immigrants already in the country. State officials also should be encouraged to help legal immigrants who lose food stamps and SSI, by pressuring Congress and the President to undo as many of the cuts as possible, and by giving immigrants state assistance to prevent destitution.

While President Clinton already has indicated he will work to change the legal immigrant provisions if he is re-elected, it's important to keep the pressure on him to follow through. "Advocates need to contact the White House right away," says Bernstein, "to indicate their unhappiness with the legal immigrant provisions and the effects they will have on legal immigrant children."

Advocates' Checklist: Health care

To make sure that children's health care does not suffer as a result of the new welfare law, urge your state policy makers to:

✔ Remember that federal Medicaid law requires states to continue Medicaid coverage for the vast majority of families losing cash assistance due to new Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF) and Supplemental Security Income (SSI) rules. When states end cash help for a family, they should not cut off Medicaid and make the family reapply. Rather, the state agency should continue with Medicaid unless it has determined that the family is not eligible under Medicaid's separate rules.

✔ Strengthen outreach and public education efforts to inform low-income families that children and parents now eligible can keep Medicaid, even if they lose cash assistance, and those who become needy can apply for Medicaid and food stamps even if they are not eligible for TANF under the new rules.

✔ Continue using a single application for cash assistance and Medicaid, so families will not have to fill out a second application to begin or maintain Medicaid coverage.

✔ Continue Medicaid coverage for legal immigrants already in the United States and for those whose eligibility can be continued (see above).

For more information, call CDF Health Director Stan Dorn, at 202-662-3595.

Advocating for children in the wake of welfare repeal

States have the choice of seizing the opportunity to help parents work, to aggressively collect child support, and to help lift children out of poverty, or of misusing the new welfare law in ways that harm children. Here are some of the most important messages for advocates to get across to policy makers:

• Although the federal government abolished the *national* guarantee that every child can receive cash help in times of need, the new act does not prevent states from creating a *state* guarantee, says CDF Family Income Director Deborah Weinstein. "Just as states require that all children receive a public education—despite shifts in school-age populations or state and local tax bases—so states should also guarantee that eligible children and families are not turned away or placed on waiting lists in times of need." Ohio, for example, has created its own $100 million reserve fund to serve more families if need swells due to a recession. Advocates, Weinstein says, should push their states to maintain a state guarantee, with or without an accompanying reserve, so that all eligible children can receive aid in times of need.

• Virtually all states have seen their welfare caseloads drop in recent years since the last recession. Since the new law gives states, each year, a fixed amount of money based on peak caseload years, states will receive more federal money for cash aid and work in the coming years than they would have gotten under the old law. States in this situation should be reminded that, in the short term at least, they have the money to help all children who need help. It is essential, cautions Weinstein, that states use the available funds to create effective job preparation and employment programs, while preserving cash assistance levels for needy families. Therefore, advocates should urge their states to maintain or increase current spending on child and family services and benefits, rather than redirecting the money to less urgent uses; and not to cut back on the state's share of spending, even though some cuts are allowable under the new federal law. This applies, too, when helping families requires state funds without federal support, such as helping some legal immigrants who will be thrown off the welfare program by the new law (see page 10). Says Weinstein: "No child should be left behind."

• Advocates also should urge state policy makers to make their plans as family-friendly as possible, says CDF–Ohio Director Mark Real. For example, many working parents need access to public health, child support, and training programs outside traditional working hours. Counties should be urged, he says, to offer services during evenings and on weekends to fit the needs of families in the community. "Rearranging hours instead of adding hours wouldn't cost counties much extra," says Real.

• Whatever their plans, states will need to know what happens to the children and families affected by the new law. "Too often, when people lose assistance because of cuts to services, we don't know what happens to them," says Weinstein. "When poor families disappear from view, too often government officials feel free to claim, without evidence, that people either were abusing the system and were afraid to apply for services, or weren't needy in the first place. This will happen again unless advocates make it their business now to keep track of these families" (see page 11 for monitoring tips). It is particularly important to be alert to how changes in one system can have impact on another, notes CDF Child Welfare Director MaryLee Allen. For example, Allen says, advocates need to pay attention to whether cutbacks in assistance will result in increased numbers of homeless families, abuse and neglect reports, and children entering foster care.

"Just as states require that all children receive a public education—despite shifts in school-age populations or state and local tax bases—so states should also guarantee that eligible children and families are not turned away or placed on waiting lists in times of need."

• Help weigh whether your state should opt into the block grant immediately or take longer to plan. States can begin to receive block grant funding on July 1, 1997, or can begin receiving a pro-rated share of block grant funding for the rest of this fiscal year (FY 1997, which began on October 1, 1996) by filing a state

(See page 13)

Special Report

Monitor effects of the new law

Documenting what happens to children and families as the new welfare law takes effect is key to shaping future welfare policy. Service providers—and researchers, graduate students, and advocates willing to team up with service providers—have the greatest opportunity to track these changes. The first step is to collect "baseline" information from families now, before the welfare law takes hold. (Many cuts will hit noncitizens and some children with disabilities before January 1997. Other welfare cuts may take longer, depending upon the state. States also may make many positive welfare changes.)

Gathering baseline information doesn't require expertise, and can take many forms—for example, interviewing a few families in depth or many families briefly, using one-to-one conversations or a written questionnaire. Here are some helpful tips for getting started:

• **Respect each family's privacy.** Explain why you are asking personal questions. Ask permission to use what families say. Assure them their real names never will be revealed without their agreement. Never expose them to public harassment or accusations of fraud. Keeping families' trust is important.

• **Consider teaming up.** Service providers can use help from interested advocates, volunteers, researchers, or graduate students, in interviewing clients in waiting rooms, for example, or revising intake forms to collect baseline data. (Service providers can look for volunteers at departments of social work, sociology, public health, public policy, or related fields at local colleges, community colleges, or universities. Researchers and advocates should contact local providers to offer their help.) *(See page 12)*

Advocates' Checklist: Child care

To make sure your state does all it can to keep children safe and well cared for while their parents work, urge your state policy makers to:

✔ Provide the state matching funds necessary to qualify for all of the new federal child care funds.

✔ Target child care policies to two goals: child development to ensure that children enter school ready to succeed, and workforce development to ensure that parents can find jobs and remain employed, knowing their children are safe and well cared for. This means policies must allow parents to choose high-quality child care options.

✔ Make sufficient levels of funding available to ensure that child care for children up to age 13 is available both to families receiving Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) and to low-income working families, as well as to children in foster care, children in need of protective services, and children whose parents are enrolled in education and training programs.

✔ Ensure that the state exercises its option to guarantee that parents with children under 11 who are receiving TANF benefits are not penalized for failing to meet work requirements, if they cannot find appropriate, affordable, safe child care. (States must exempt parents with children under 6 in these circumstances).

✔ Some states already are meeting the early TANF work participation targets and will not initially need to spend more child care dollars to do so, but participation rates will climb steeply over the next five years, and states that have enough child care dollars for now may well face serious shortfalls in the future. These same states now often have long child care waiting lists for the working poor, and lack the supply to meet escalating child care demands as work requirements increase. These states should focus federal and state funds in the early years on creating the infrastructure needed to meet the new demand for child care, and serving more working poor families.

✔ Base sliding fee scales on parents' income, so that parents living below the poverty line pay only a nominal fee and moderate-income families contribute no more than 10 percent of their incomes for child care.

✔ At a minimum, base reimbursement rates to providers on the 75th percentile of the market rate, to ensure parents' equal access to a stable supply of child care. This will enable low-income parents to choose child care that meets their needs. Allow for differences in child care costs, based on the child's age and the type of care.

✔ Spend more than the required minimum 4 percent of child care funds on activities to improve the quality and expand the supply of child care, such as resource and referral programs, consumer education, and training.

✔ Work closely with representatives of Head Start and state prekindergarten programs to maximize available resources to meet the new demand for child care.

✔ Reduce demand for child care by adopting such TANF options as exempting from work requirements mothers with children under age 1.

For more information, call CDF Child Care Director Helen Blank, at 202-662-3547.

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Monitor effects of the new law

(Continued from page 11)

• **Decide what questions to ask.** Consider asking each family at least some questions in each of the following core areas:

Benefits: Does your family currently receive AFDC, food stamps, SSI, or Medicaid? If so, how much of the benefit do you receive, and how long have you received it? Have you recently lost benefits? If so, why (your income rose, state rules changed, marital status changed, or other reasons)? Are you eligible for child support? Do you receive it, and if not, why not? (Child support is one area in which the new law seems most likely to boost family resources.)

Employment: Are you working now? If so, what services, if any, helped you find work or help keep you working? How much are you earning before taxes? Are you getting child care help? If you are not working now, why not, and when did you last work? (Also ask about work barriers, such as having a disability or lacking child care, transportation, or needed education or training.)

Housing: Any problems paying rent in the past six months? If so, were you ever unable to pay rent, or to pay it on time? Did you or your children move for cheaper housing? Did you move in with someone else? Did you spend time in a shelter or on the street? Were your children in foster care? Did you change your child's school during the school year?

Utilities: Any problems paying phone, heat, gas, or electric bills in the past six months? If so, have you been unable to pay any bills, or to pay them on time, due to lack of income? Was service cut off for nonpayment? Do you have full utility service now?

Medical Care: Any problems obtaining or paying for doctor visits, medicine, or other medical needs for your children in the past six months? If so, why?

Food: Any problems paying for food in the past six months? If so, did you or your children lack food for 24 hours or more last month because of lack of money? *(See page 13)*

Advocates' Checklist: Child protection

The welfare act contains very few references to child protection, because the federal foster care, adoption assistance, and other child protection programs were maintained as in current law, and the new law contains no child protection block grants. However, many other provisions in the welfare act, such as eligibility changes to Supplemental Security Income (SSI), the drastic cut in food stamps, and new rules for families receiving cash assistance, have serious implications for children and families who come to the attention of the child protection system. These changes are likely to increase the demands on caseworkers, and increase the need for foster homes and other costly resources, unless states make good decisions now. To make sure that children are safe and adequately cared for, advocates should urge state policy makers to:

✔ Use a portion of the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) block grant to fund the family support and crisis services currently funded under the Emergency Assistance Program (which will be subsumed into the block grant), or identify other new sources of funding for these activities.

✔ Pay attention to the children with disabilities (including children in foster care) who are receiving SSI and must be re-reviewed under the new rules; ensure that they keep receiving the assistance necessary to maintain them with their families or foster families.

✔ Consider the needs of special populations when implementing the TANF block grant:

- Provide aid to nonparental relatives caring for children who cannot live safely with their parents and otherwise would be in foster care. Exempt these grandparents and other relatives from time limits and work requirements in the new law. Similarly, exempt parents or other relatives caring for disabled children.
- Take the option that lets the state arrange to screen and identify victims of domestic violence and their children, counsel them, and exempt them from certain TANF requirements.
- Take the option not to apply, or to otherwise modify and narrow, the lifetime prohibition on cash assistance or food stamps for individuals convicted after August 22, 1996, of drug-related felonies, so as to preserve parents' or young people's opportunities for recovery and self-sufficiency after treatment for addiction.
- Establish exceptions to the rule that denies parents aid when their children are absent from the home more than 45 days, so that it does not interfere with plans to reunify children in foster care with their parents promptly and safely.
- Make special provisions for minor parents and their children to receive aid when they cannot live safely in the grandparents' home.

✔ Establish baselines against which to recognize and track over time any increases in, or changes in the nature of, homeless families, abuse and neglect reports, foster care placements, and services to children with disabilities.

✔ Consider the human and fiscal costs involved if families whose needs are not met must turn for help to the child protection system, and place their children in foster care.

For more information, call CDF Child Welfare Director MaryLee Allen, at 202-662-3573.

Monitor effects of the new law

(Continued from page 12)

Background: (Record the age and race/ethnicity of the parent or parents and the number and ages of children, as well as the parental education and training levels).

• **Add your own questions**, reflecting your own knowledge or specialty. If possible, ask many open-ended questions—for example, about any other problems with the welfare system or with meeting basic needs. Try to get a sense of who families turn to for help. Open-ended questions take longer to analyze, but they give a fuller picture of what is happening in families' lives, and they lead to real-life stories that can be more persuasive with policy makers than numbers.

• **Document carefully** what families say. Leave nothing to memory.

• **Think ahead**. Plan to ask the same questions later, after changes have taken effect, or to continue collecting the data regularly. Think now about what information will be useful in the future for showing how children's lives have changed under the new law. Later, share important findings with other providers, local reporters, CDF, and other advocates.

If you decide to collect baseline information and to continue monitoring children's needs, please let CDF know. We will be offering more-complete materials for monitoring welfare changes.

For more information, contact Arloc Sherman, CDF Monitoring Project, 25 E St. NW, Washington, DC 20001; 202-662-3537.

Advocating for children

(Continued from page 9)

plan with the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) any time after October 1, 1996. Many states, says Weinstein, will receive *more* funds in the short term through the block grant. It may make sense for states to secure maximum federal dollars, she says, particularly if the difference is significant, but the state does not have to include hasty and punitive changes in state policy to qualify.

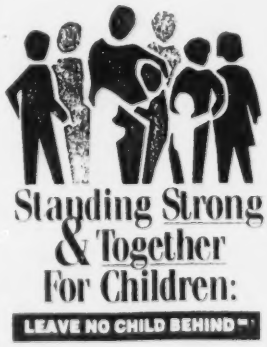
• Ensure that your state opts out of the requirement to provide community service jobs to all able-bodied parents after they receive two months of cash assistance, as these activities will not result in permanent jobs. A state that opts out of the two-months-and-community-service provision can still use community service jobs as one of the means of meeting the law's new work participation requirements, but can focus its scarce work and child care dollars on programs most likely to result in permanent employment.

• Often, under state law, key decisions about the shape of new welfare plans can be made either by state legislatures or by the governor. Savvy advocates, says Weinstein, will figure out whether the legislative majority or the executive branch is more likely to make decisions that will help children, and try to get decisions made in the more sympathetic branch.

CDF Resources

CDF has several free resources available to advocates involved in planning for the new welfare law. Call T'Wana Lucas at 202-662-3542 for any of the following items. Many resources also are posted on CDF's Web site at www.childrensdefense.org.

- Summary of the new welfare law (seven pages).
- Charts showing how much federal money each state will receive for cash aid, work programs, and child care.
- An updated version of CDF's earlier guide to federal welfare legislation, *Federal Welfare Reform: A Preliminary Guide for States.*
- A copy of the Department of Health and Human Services' draft guidelines for states to use in devising their state plans, and a timeline listing implementation and state reporting deadlines.
- A USDA Food and Consumer Service listing of food stamp changes, along with the means and timetable for implementation.
- New federal directives on food stamp certification periods for legal immigrants, ways to speed up the process of becoming a U.S. citizen, and a list of government-funded community programs, services, and assistance for which legal immigrants will continue to be eligible.



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Standing Strong & Together For Children: LEAVE NO CHILD BEHIND

Children's Defense Fund Annual National Conference
March 12-15, 1997
Washington Hilton and Towers
Washington, DC 20009

For registration information, call the CDF Conference Hotline at 202-662-3684 or Leslie Warrick at 202-662-3593.

Children of working parents squeezed out of health care

(Continued from page 2)

law. Many others remain eligible but the new law could complicate as a practical matter their maintaining or getting benefits from state agencies. And finally, the law's huge cuts to food stamps and strict new rules on cash assistance likely will cause many more children to suffer from malnutrition and health problems caused by homelessness, says Weill.

Federal leadership is imperative to ensure that all children receive health care regardless of the state in which they happen to reside.

"The combined impact of the new welfare law and the steady decline in private insurance coverage for children means that child and health advocates must increase their efforts, both in their states and at the national level, to promote new approaches to protecting children's health," says Dorn. "We have to persuade our state and national leaders to consider very seriously *all* of the various ways we can provide children with critical health coverage." These options, says Dorn, include expanding Medicaid, initiating a new national program to cover children, providing family vouchers to help pay for private health insurance, and creating or expanding state health insurance programs and health services.

States can lead the way

Massachusetts presents a good example of what states can accomplish when advocates join forces to protect children's health. In July, an overwhelming, bipartisan majority in the Massachusetts legislature passed a new health reform bill. The new law will expand the state's Medicaid program to give comprehensive coverage to children age 12 and younger who are living in families with incomes up to 200 percent of the poverty level ($25,960 for a family of three). Uninsured children 18 and younger who are living in families with incomes up to 400 percent of the poverty level ($51,920 for a family of three) will receive primary and preventive health coverage through the state's Children's Medical Security Plan. Hospital care will be covered through the state's Free Care Pool.

Once the bill is fully implemented, at least 125,000 of the state's 160,000 uninsured children will receive health coverage, says Rob Restuccia, executive director of the Boston-based Health Care For All, and Massachusetts will be the state with the lowest percentage of uninsured children.

One reason health care reform in Massachusetts was so successful, says Restuccia, is that many different groups worked together to support the bill, which provides significant new health coverage to seniors, the disabled, and low-income uninsured parents, as well as children. Supporters included the teachers union, tobacco control advocates, uninsured parents and children, senior citizens, health insurers, doctors, hospitals, nurses, and business leaders. The new law is financed by a 25-cent hike in the state cigarette tax and by federal Medicaid funds.

Restuccia recommends that advocates who want to push for state health care reform create a broad-based coalition of groups, put a human face on the problem by mobilizing the children and parents who would be most affected by health care reform, link the needs of children and senior citizens in one bill, and work to expand the health coverage that's already in place.

"There is no big bang or major piece of legislation that will take care of the problem all at once," says Restuccia. "Advocates need to think creatively but not get caught up in some ideal that they're not going to be able to reach. It's better to start with something you can build from."

Refocusing on health

While state efforts like Massachusetts' are much needed, says Dorn, federal leadership is imperative to ensure that all children receive health care regardless of the state in which they happen to reside. Many Americans were discouraged by the defeat of comprehensive health care reform in 1994, says Gregg Haifley, senior CDF health associate and chair of the Maternal and Child Health Coalition, which is composed of national maternal and child health advocacy organizations. But advocates must not give up their efforts to make sure that all children have health care coverage. Enactment this summer of the Kennedy-Kassebaum health insurance law proved that Congress and the President can join together to improve access to health care in response to broad public support. That law makes private insurance more accessible for some families and children by limiting private insurers' ability to deny coverage based on pre-existing conditions.

And, says Haifley, advocates should take heart from the success of the extraordinary work of many committed advocates across the country, protecting low-income children's health since the

Enactment of the Kennedy-Kassebaum health insurance law proved that Congress and the President can join together to improve access to health care.

1994 congressional election. Advocates helped fight off persistent congressional efforts, both last year and this year, to block-grant Medicaid and severely cut back its funding—efforts that would have left millions of children without health insurance.

"Now we must start working proactively to make sure that affordable, accessible health care is a part of every child's future," says Haifley. "Survey after survey shows that Americans overwhelmingly believe children should receive health care. The time is ripe to concentrate our energies on promoting specific solutions that will give children the health care they need."

Necessary

News from the Black Community Crusade for Children

People of faith learn how to help children

Taking the church beyond its four walls to reach the children most in need was the focus of the 1996 CDF/Black Community Crusade for Children Summer Institute for Child Advocacy Ministry. More than 80 people of faith attended.

"I came back home with a greater desire than ever to do advocacy work through the church," says the Rev. Rodney Sadler, a Bible scholar seeking his doctorate at North Carolina's Duke University. His first mission after returning home to rural North Carolina was to mobilize local people to tell the White House they opposed the welfare bill (now law), because it would push more than a million children into poverty.

"The President signed it anyway," Sadler notes, "but it was important that we got involved. Now [people here] all have the number to [President Clinton's chief of staff] Leon Panetta, and they know to call and encourage others to call when there is a measure before the President that could hurt children. The institute reinforced the notion that we're doing God's work when we look out for our children."

Sadler also laid down plans for a ministry targeting young Black males in North Durham, a rural community that shares many problems with larger cities. "Durham has become the most violent community in North Carolina over the past year," he says. "We want to reach out to young Black males in our own community who need jobs, solutions to drug abuse and violence, and renewed hope and direction."

Inspiring words

The Summer Institute for Child Advocacy Ministry, held the third week of July each year at the former Haley farm in Clinton, Tenn., unites ministers and lay people in exchanging ways to improve the life chances of American children. The gathering is a time for learning and spiritual renewal, and includes inspirational sermons and discussion groups that focus on child advocacy. Like many who attended this year's institute, Sadler says his greatest inspiration came from being surrounded by other activist ministers, who invite God to work through them to improve children's lives.

"It was the kind of atmosphere that keeps you spiritually grounded," he says. "It was very refreshing to be able to learn from some of the most respected preachers in America. There were many preachers there that you *always* hear about but don't always get to see." Among them were the Revs. William Sloane Coffin, former pastor of Riverside Church in New York; Vashti McKenzie, pastor of Payne Memorial AME Church in Baltimore; Samuel Proctor, former pastor of Abyssinian Baptist Church in Harlem; Gardner Taylor, former pastor of Concord Baptist Church of Christ in Brooklyn; and Renita Weems, a professor at the Vanderbilt Divinity School in Tennessee.

Everyone plays a role

Also participating were young people, other activist ministers, and seminarians—less well known, but making a difference in their communities. In addition to Sadler, they included 22-year-old Andre Thurman from Kansas City, Mo., who says, "You have to be ready to do anything on behalf of young people," if you want to reach them. "And you have to let them *know* that you are willing to do it."

Pablo David, 13, a member of the Peace Makers group in New York, urged churchgoers to think of "the church" as the entire community, rather than just four walls and a steeple, and to find ways to stress to young people the importance of solving conflicts without violence.

"You have to be ready to do anything on behalf of young people," if you want to reach them. "And you have to let them *know* that you are willing to do it."

The institute is a reminder that everyone in the faith community can play a role in improving children's lives—from the 13-year-old child to the renowned elder—and that ministry must take place outside as well as within the church building.

For information about the Summer Institute for Child Advocacy Ministry, contact CDF's Department of Religious Affairs, 202-662-3589.

Short Takes

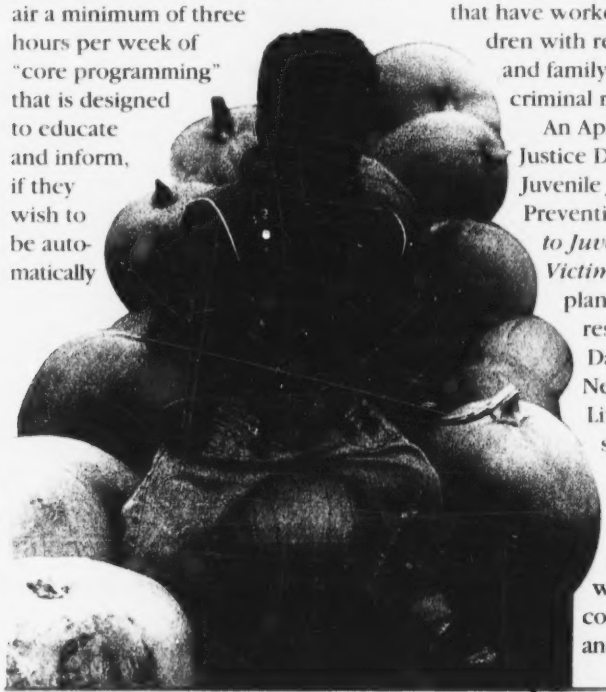
FCC adds muscle to Children's Television Act

The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) has acted to encourage TV networks to air at least three hours of children's educational television per week, and a group that backed the measure says it will urge its membership, child advocates, and parents to monitor local stations, challenge broadcasters to be responsible, and notify the FCC of failures to do so.

The FCC ruling, which for the first time gives teeth to the federal Children's Television Act of 1990, is a major victory for children, says Kathryn C. Montgomery, president of the Center for Media Education. The act in its original form requires television stations to air educational television for children, but it does not stipulate how many hours of educational shows broadcasters must air or what constitutes educational programming.

"We are gratified that the commission has finally agreed on a set of new regulations that clarify the requirements and close the loopholes," Montgomery says. "Now that these new rules are in place, we expect to see a flowering of quality educational programs for children in the commercial broadcast marketplace."

Under the new rules, stations must air a minimum of three hours per week of "core programming" that is designed to educate and inform, if they wish to be automatically approved for license renewal.



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Programs must be at least 30 minutes long, regularly scheduled, and aired between 7 a.m. and 10 p.m. Under a second option, a station may air "somewhat less" than three hours per week as long as it "demonstrates a level of commitment to educating and informing children that is at least equivalent to airing three hours per week of core programming." If a station takes neither option, it will have to plead its case for license renewal directly before the FCC commissioners.

For more information, call the Center for Media Education, 202-628-2620.

Curfews draw applause from Justice Department

Thoughtful curfew plans are working to cut down youth crimes and to protect youths from becoming the victims of crimes, experts say. The most successful curfews bring together parents, law enforcement officials, social service agencies, and educators to help youths early on, instead of relying on punishment later, says Kim Wade, assistant general counsel for CDF.

"Curfews can be a good way for the community to say to children, 'We care where you are, and we care what you are doing,'" Wade says. "The curfews that have worked best provide children with recreation opportunities and family support—but not a criminal record."

An April report by the U.S. Justice Department's Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, *Curfew: An Answer to Juvenile Delinquency and Victimization?*, says curfew plans are reaping positive results in several cities: Dallas, Phoenix, Chicago, New Orleans, Denver, Little Rock, and Jacksonville, Fla.

In New Orleans, for example, a summer jobs program and new recreational activities were implemented in conjunction with a curfew, and the result was a 27 percent reduction in juvenile crime during curfew hours, the report says. The crimes that dropped most dramatically were armed robbery (33 percent) and auto theft (42 percent). And in Jacksonville, the Juvenile Assessment Center, which oversees the curfew program, also offers counseling, parenting training, drug and alcohol abuse treatment, and treatment for mental illness.

These curfew plans have shown success, the report says, because they were enacted in combination with initiatives that help youths and families solve underlying individual and family problems.

For a free copy of Curfew: An Answer to Juvenile Delinquency and Victimization?, *contact Donni LeBouf, OJJDP, 633 Indiana Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20531, (202) 307-0581.*

More proof that preschools help children later on

Given equal access to quality preschools, virtually all children can learn at higher levels later on, a new Carnegie study says.

By age 10, American schoolchildren lag behind those in other countries and are stuck in patterns that hinder later success in the classroom, a Carnegie Corporation task force has reported in *Years of Promise*. But with strong parental involvement, varied learning activities, trusting relationships between children and adults, adequate preparation for learning, and high expectations for every child—"not just a targeted population"—all children can have a good shot at excelling in school, the report says.

"The report stresses the importance of a good preschool experience for children and wisely recommends universal access to quality preschools," notes Helen Blank, CDF's director of Child Care. There are 13 million 3- to 5-year-olds now enrolled in preschools, more than 70 percent of whom are from wealthy families; yet most preschoolers are enrolled in substandard programs, the report says.

Years of Promise *is available for $10 prepaid by writing: Carnegie Corp. of New York, PO Box 753, Waldorf, MD 20604. For a free executive summary, call 212-371-3200.*

Media Tips

by Lynn Bowersox-Megginson, CDF Director of Communications

Collect stories of local children who need help

In the wake of a new welfare law that shifts more of our focus from the national to state and local efforts to serve children, advocates have new challenges and opportunities to educate their communities and local media about the needs of children and families. Many reporters and editors working in your local media—who have long depended on wire services to deliver national news about child-serving programs—may be in need of a crash course on how the welfare repeal law will affect children in your communities.

One of the most important first steps in helping the media learn about the changes children and families will undergo is to identify families the media can track as they lose benefits and struggle to find work, or as they face hunger because of food stamp changes. By connecting the press with real children, you can help convert the public's lack of policy and technical knowledge into firsthand understanding about the conditions families face.

Advocates should seek out families that are willing to have their names published or to be taped for radio and television. But in certain instances—for example, when child abuse or involvement in the juvenile justice system is an issue—it is vital that confidentiality be protected. Be sure to locate a racially diverse group of families for reporters to interview, to help debunk myths about those who need assistance. Advocates also should take every possible precaution to make sure the examples they make public can withstand media scrutiny.

"Head Start and child care agencies are good places to look," says CDF Family Income Director Deborah Weinstein, "for families working hard to get off welfare, or those that have recently gotten off welfare. Child care staff see parents regularly, when they pick up their children, and can ask if they're willing to tell their story." Advocates also should consider calling the local welfare office or health clinic and asking permission to interview parents in the waiting room.

"We want to show that services are important, the need is great, and that there is great hope and great potential in people's ability to grow and change."

While advocates should have little trouble locating families already receiving services, they will have a harder time finding families that will be cut from services under the new state welfare plans, says Weinstein. Thankfully, many of those hurt will not lose aid for months or years. Weinstein suggests that advocates contact the kinds of community-based organizations families might turn to for help if they become ineligible for public services. For example, says Weinstein, the heads of food pantries, soup kitchens, homeless shelters, and religious organizations in low-income neighborhoods may know of families that are no longer eligible for public help and are willing to share their stories.

If your group has member organizations, consider asking them to submit a few case examples. For instance, the Child Welfare League of America (CWLA) asked its member agencies to gather families' stories for its Real Stories Project. Accompanying the request was a simple questionnaire to help guide the interviewers as they talked with the families. Interviewers were asked briefly to describe the child and family, explain how the agency worked with the child and family, indicate whether there was a successful outcome, describe what the child and family did to bring about change or reach a resolution, and enumerate the lessons learned.

"We got a variety of stories, and people were pretty creative in getting them," says Pamela Day, director of CWLA's Family Preservation and Family Support Services. Day even received one poignant videotaped interview with a young West Virginia mother who was reunited with her five children after telling the boyfriend who was beating her to move out. CWLA sent a copy of the video to Sen. Jay Rockefeller (D-WV) to help him deepen his understanding of domestic violence.

The heads of food pantries, soup kitchens, homeless shelters, and religious organizations may know of families that are no longer eligible for public help and are willing to share their stories.

To date, CWLA has collected more than 200 stories. The stories have been put into a computer database for use in speeches, media interviews, formal testimony, and other kinds of public dialogue about child welfare. "You don't need to have thousands of stories," says Day. "You just need a good representation of families in different situations."

State and local advocates gathering stories should keep them simple and be open to hearing people's frustrations as well as their successes, says Day. Not every story will have a happy ending. "We want to show that services are important, the need is great, and that there is great hope and great potential in people's ability to grow and change. The challenge is to convey the goodness in the world." *(To learn more about the Real Stories Project, contact Pamela Day, 202-942-0262).*

3 Facts

you should know about health care

1. Ten million children under 18 (14.2 percent) had no health insurance throughout 1994.
2. Nine out of 10 uninsured children in 1993 had parents who worked, and six out of 10 had parents who worked full-time all year.
3. Since 1989, an average of more than 1 million children a year have lost private health insurance.

For more information, see page 1 and the Special Report, starting on page 5.

CDF Reports

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Key steps for children

Action needed	Status (as of October 7, 1996)
Welfare "reform." Expand job opportunities, offer child care help, improve child support, and reject attempts to deny aid to families with no other means of subsistence.	In August, Congress passed and the President signed H.R. 3734, now Public Law 104-193, which ends the AFDC entitlement, eliminates most safety net benefits for legal immigrants, cuts SSI for many disabled children, and cuts the food stamp program by $28 billion. Overall, it cuts $54 billion from these programs. However, provisions to block-grant the food stamp, child protection, child nutrition, and Medicaid programs are not in the law. P.L. 104-188 (H.R. 3448) raises the minimum wage by 90 cents in two steps in the next year.
Head Start and child care. Expand funding for Head Start and for child care programs for low-income working families.	Public law 104-208 (H.R. 3610), signed by the President on Sept. 30, increases Head Start funding by $411.6 million to $3.98 billion and Child Care and Development Block Grant (CCDBG) by $21.4 million, to $956.1 million.
Health care reform. Extend affordable health care coverage to all children and pregnant women.	The congressional leadership dropped efforts to block-grant Medicaid. The welfare law protects Medicaid coverage for most poor children, but excludes most poor legal immigrant children, and some disabled children. The Vaccines for Children program, included in the Medicaid law, continues. Public law 104-191 (S.1028/ H.R. 3103) protects families from losing insurance coverage for pre-existing conditions. Public law 104-202 (H.R. 3666), signed Sept. 26, requires health insurers to allow new mothers to remain in the hospital for at least 48 hours after delivery.
Juvenile justice and violence prevention. Reauthorize the Juvenile Justice Delinquency Prevention Act (JJDPA), retaining its core protections for children. Fully fund key prevention programs created by the 1994 crime act.	Bills on juvenile crime, JJDPA, and youth development did *not* become law. Public law 104-208 (H.R. 3610) extends the Brady law to bar handgun purchases by people convicted of spouse or child abuse.
Education of children with disabilities. Reauthorize the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA).	H.R. 3268, reauthorizing IDEA, passed the House on June 10. The Senate Labor Committee finished work on its bill, S.1578, but the full Senate never considered the bill.

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Ask all candidates

for federal, state, and local offices what specific steps they will take if elected to ensure that no child is left behind.

CDF's legislative hotline tape:
202-662-3678

CDF on the Internet:
http://www.childrensdefense.org

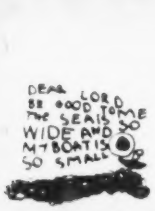
Capitol Hill switchboard:
202-224-3121

U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

U.S. Senate
Washington, DC 20510

White House comment line:
202-456-1111
E-mail: president@whitehouse.gov

President Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC 20500



LEAVE NO CHILD BEHIND℠

Children's Defense Fund

CDF Reports

Marian Wright Edelman, President

November 1996
Volume 17, Number 12

Congressional year in review

Most children's services spared; children lose national safety net

While the 1996 session of the 104th Congress will be remembered for dismantling a major piece of the safety net for America's children, many other harmful congressional proposals did not become law (see story, page 15). In fact, seven of eight block grants proposed by Congress were defeated, notes CDF Director of Government Affairs Eileen Sweeney, and some important gains were made in Head Start, child care, education, private health insurance coverage, the minimum wage, and child welfare.

"Advocates deserve a huge pat on the back for their heroic work over the past year in helping to protect children," says Sweeney. "Now it is essential for the children's movement to define an agenda and work hard to win. We need to be on the offensive and make real progress next year on children's behalf."

At the same time, advocates must stay vigilant, says Sweeney, since many of the battles fought and won in 1996, such as balanced budget proposals that hurt children unfairly could re-emerge in the next Congress.

Welfare "repeal"

The welfare act, perhaps more appropriately called welfare "repeal," eliminates the guarantee that all needy children can receive cash assistance, and makes major reductions in food stamps and Supplemental Security Income (SSI) for children. It also cuts billions of dollars of help for legal immigrants in a wide range of safety net programs (for a description of the welfare law, see September *CDF Reports*). However, earlier proposals to block-grant Medicaid, food stamps, school lunches, and foster care, adoption assistance, and other child protection programs were all defeated. The deepest cuts in SSI were omitted from the

(See page 14)

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Fiscal Year 1997 appropriations

(for selected children's programs)

($ in millions)	FY 1996	FY 1997	Difference
Early childhood			
Head Start	3,570.0	3,981.0	410.9
Child Care and Development Block Grant†	934.6	956.1	21.5
Dependent Care Block Grant	0	0	0
Child Development Associate Block Grant	0	0	0
Health			
Maternal and Child Health Block Grant	678.2	681.1	2.9
Childhood Immunizations	467.9	467.9	0
Consolidated Health Centers○	758.1	802.1	44.0
Ryan White AIDS Program	757.4	996.3	238.9
Emergency Medical Services for Children	10.7	12.5	1.8
National Health Service Corps	112.4	115.4	3.0
Lead Poisoning Prevention	36.2	38.2	2.0
WIC	3,729.8	3,729.8	0
Healthy Start	92.8	96.0	3.2
Title X	192.6	198.5	5.9
Job Training			
JTPA Youth Training	126.7	126.7	0
Summer Youth Employment	625.0	871.0	246.0
Job Corps	1,093.9	1,153.5	59.6
YouthBuild	20.0	30.0	10.0
Youth Fair Chance	0	0	0
Education			
Title I	7,228.1	7,698.5	470.4
Goals 2000	350.0	491.0	141.0
Safe & Drug-Free Schools	466.0	556.0	90.0
School-to-Work	180.0	200.0	20.0
Juvenile Justice/Crime Prevention			
Ounce of Prevention	1.5	1.5	0
Community Schools	0	12.8✦	12.8
Juvenile Justice & Delinquency Prevention	144.0	170.0	26.0
Youth Gang Substance Abuse	✿	✿	✿
Gang Resistance Education and Training (GREAT)	7.2	8.0	0.8
Family and Community Endeavor Schools (FACES)	0	0	0
Child Welfare			
Social Services Block Grant	2,381.0	2,500.0	119.0
Child Welfare Services (Title IV-B, Subpart 1)	277.4	292.0	14.6
Family Preservation and Support	225.0	240.0	15.0
Independent Living	70.0	70.0	0.0
Community-based Resource Centers	23.0	32.8	9.8
Temporary Child Care and Crisis Nurseries	9.8	*	*
Family Support Centers (McKinney)	0.0	*	*
Child Abuse State Grants	21.0	21.0	0.0
Child Abuse Discretionary	14.2	14.2	0.0
Family Violence Prevention and Services	32.6	62.0	29.4
Abandoned Infants Assistance	12.3	12.3	0.0
Adoption Opportunities	11.0	13.0	2.0
Children's Mental Health Services	59.9	69.9	10.0
Runaway and Homeless Youth	58.6	58.6	0.0
Basic Grants	43.7	43.7	0.0
Transitional Living	15.0	14.9	0.0
Drug Abuse Prevention	✿	✿	✿
Other			
Legal Services	278.0	283.0	5.0
Low-Income Home Energy Assistance Program (LIHEAP)◆	900.0	1,000.0	100.0
Community Services Block Grant	389.6	489.6	100.0
Homeless Service Grants	0	0	0

Note: Differences do not always add up, due to rounding of figures.

†$19 million of the FY 97 increase in CCDBG is targeted for school-age and resource and referral activities.

○In FY 96, Migrant Health Centers, Community Health Centers, and Health Care for the Homeless were consolidated into this one line item.

✦$12.8 million for Community Schools was included in the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA) budget.

✿Funding consolidated with other substance abuse programs.

*Programs repealed in FY 97; similar activities funded under Community-based Resource Centers.

◆FY 97 law includes $1 billion for FY 97 and $1 billion for FY 98.

CDF Reports

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Director of Publications
Donna M. Jablonski

Managing Editor: Marge duMond

Editor, *CDF Reports*
Sydney Stephenson Clevenger

Writer: Ed Wiley III

Production Manager: Janis Johnston

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Children's Defense Fund

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CDF Ohio, 52 East Lynn Street, Suite 400, Columbus, OH 43215. Mark Real, Director.

CDF Greater Cincinnati, 2515 Erkenbrecher Avenue, Cincinnati, OH 45225. Eileen Reed, Advocate.

CDF Greater Columbus, 52 East Lynn Street, Suite 400, Columbus, OH 43215. Susan Lewis, Director.

CDF Minnesota, 550 Rice Street, Suite 100, St. Paul, MN 55103. Jim Koppel, Director.

CDF Marlboro County, 117 Cheraw Highway, Bennettsville, SC 29512. Marian David, Director.

CDF New York, 200 Church Street, 2nd Floor, New York, NY 10013. Donna Lawrence, Director.

CDF on the Internet:
http://www.childrensdefense.org

A Voice for Children

by Marian Wright Edelman

We're making progress

As I travel around the country, I hear a lot about young people who are truly inspiring. I want to share with you one of the success stories I heard recently as an example of what *is* working for America's children in need.

Amesha Kinchen graduated from high school in June. Now 17, she just moved into a one-bedroom apartment with her son Sha'Quil, 2. He's a happy toddler who attends day care while Amesha studies respiratory therapy full time at a local two-year college. Amesha's goal is to graduate from college and find work in a hospital.

What's amazing about this story is that Amesha overcame huge odds to become a responsible young adult and a good mother. She grew up with little stability, moving from one foster home to the next in and near Newark, N.J. She kept hoping to be adopted, along with her sister. But when Amesha was 14 years old, she became pregnant, making adoption very difficult.

A caseworker moved Amesha to a group home in Trenton, called the Union Industrial Home for Children (UIH), where she lived with a dozen other teens who were either pregnant or already mothers, raising their babies. Five months after Amesha moved to UIH, she gave birth to Sha'Quil, who was born healthy, thanks in part to the prenatal care she got through UIH. Amesha finished high school—unlike many teen mothers—and she got help learning how to discipline her son and be a good parent. She knows how to prepare a household budget and ways to live a healthy lifestyle, without drugs, alcohol, or cigarettes. She has not gotten pregnant again. Best of all, Amesha has learned to believe in herself, and her new-found confidence has enabled her to become a role model for other young teens whose lives have gotten off track. Amesha now lives in UIH's two-year transitional housing program, called The Bridge, which will help her move successfully into the working world without needing public assistance.

While we should applaud progress, we can't let up for one minute. We have so much more work to do to ensure that all children are born healthy, and can grow up safe, educated, and able to fulfill their God-given potential.

Amesha is just one of the millions of young people who have triumphed over adversity, thanks to the efforts of public/private partnerships like UIH that help young people persevere and succeed in life. Their hard work shines through from the latest government data (see Special Report, page 5), showing improvements in teen birth rates, early prenatal care rates, infant mortality, and child poverty.

While we should applaud progress, we can't let up for one minute. Too many Ameshas and Sha'Quils still need us to work together in our communities and congregations, and keep applying pressure on our national, state, and local policy makers and community leaders so that progress for children continues and accelerates. We have so much more work to do to ensure that all children are born healthy, and can grow up safe, educated, and able to fulfill their God-given potential.

Violence a barrier to self-sufficiency

Pat lived for four years with her abusive husband, who choked her, threw beer cans and burning cigarettes at her, even raped her, before she scooped up her 3-year-old son, Jonathan, and went looking for a better life.

After Pat left, her husband stalked and threatened her. She and their son stayed in a shelter for battered women until she began receiving subsidized housing and cash assistance.

"We know that most very poor mothers want to work... But the appalling prevalence of violence in their lives... means that their work history often will be sporadic, by necessity, and their family's poverty intense."

Like many victims of domestic violence, Pat and Jonathan have had a difficult time recovering. Jonathan, now 6, has post-traumatic stress disorder and takes antidepressant medication. Pat was going to school to improve her chances of earning enough money to support her family, but her son's medical problems worsened, and she was forced to stay home to care for him.

Pat's story is one shared by abused women all across America. Low-income women face a variety of barriers to becoming self-supporting, but violence is perhaps the most daunting.

Violence has repercussions

A newly released study of homeless and housed poor mothers, by the Better Homes Fund and the University of Massachusetts Medical Center, found that the overwhelming majority of both groups were survivors of violence. Fully 80 to 90 percent of the women reported physical or sexual assaults at some point in their lives, about 40 percent said they had been sexually molested before reaching adulthood. Both groups of women struggle with serious financial problems, substandard living conditions, social isolation, and poor health. Unsurprisingly in a group where violence was so common, more than 40 percent of the women suffered post-traumatic stress disorder, 35 to 40 percent reported some period of alcohol or drug dependence, and 70 percent reported suffering from at least one emotional disorder in their lifetime.

Even though most of the women studied were only in their twenties, disproportionately high numbers of them suffered from chronic medical problems, such as asthma, anemia, chronic bronchitis, and ulcers. Many are without social supports, such as extended family and supportive neighbors.

In spite of these multiple difficulties, more than 70 percent of the women studied had worked at some point in their lives, with almost one-third having had a job within the past year. Work was usually low-paying and part time, with no benefits. The mothers described child care and transportation as the most common barriers to full-time employment.

"As the gap between rich and poor widens in the United States, the differences between low-income families and homeless families are evaporating," says Ellen Bassuk, a Harvard psychiatrist, who headed the study. "Thousands of low-income families are just one crisis away from becoming homeless."

Money helps

The major difference between the homeless and housed families was money. The homeless mothers and children had an average annual income of $7,910, compared with $9,988 for the mothers and children in housing. The cash assistance provided by Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) frequently made the difference between having a place to live or not, the study found. Those who didn't get aid ended up on the street at more than three times the rate of those who did. The study's authors conclude that the welfare law enacted in August, with its repeal of AFDC and the six-decade-old federal guarantee of aid to poor families with children, along with cuts in nutrition and other assistance, will push more families into homelessness.

The 436 mothers and 627 dependent children followed in depth by the study were similar in most respects to poor female-headed families nationwide. In contrast to the common welfare myths, only 7 percent of these mothers were under 18. The mothers' median age was 27; nearly two-thirds gave birth to their first child after age 18. Their children's average age was 5. For most of these mothers, welfare was not intergenerational: two-thirds had not grown up in families that were receiving welfare.

Mothers want to work

That most of the mothers in the study have a work history also confirms other national data. "We know that most very poor mothers want to work, because they have work experience," says Deborah Weinstein, CDF family income director. "But the appalling prevalence of violence in their lives, sometimes compounded by crises of ill health and homelessness, means that their work history often will be sporadic, by necessity, and their family's poverty intense," says Weinstein. "The new welfare repeal law, without additional supports to help mothers in their struggle to provide safe lives for their children, will mean more danger, suffering, and homelessness for these families."

Pat remains determined to overcome obstacles like these. Despite the hardships she has faced, Pat's struggle is paying off. She has several new friends, and Jonathan's reading has improved. "My primary goal is to make a decent living for my child and myself," Pat says. "I'm also on the Domestic Violence Task Force in my area—because I want to...help women who've been through this."

For more information, contact the Better Homes Fund, 181 Wells Avenue, Newton Centre, MA, 02159, 617-964-3834, or see the October 1996 Scientific American *or the August 28, 1996,* Journal of the American Medical Association.

Special Report

New Data Show Gains

Child poverty declining, but rates still far too high

About 600,000 fewer U.S. children were living below the federal poverty line ($15,569 for a family of four) in 1995 than in 1994, according to data released in October by the U.S. Census Bureau. This is the second year in a row that the number of children in poverty has fallen slightly. Yet more than one out of five American children still is poor, and children are nearly twice as likely as adults to be poor.

In 1995, 14.7 million American children younger than 18 (20.8 percent) were poor, down from 15.3 million (21.8 percent) the year before.

The decline reflects a growing economy that is slowly making a difference for children and low-income families, says CDF Senior Program Analyst Arloc Sherman. "The 1995 numbers are especially welcome news, since the first three years of the economic recovery barely helped low-income children," says Sherman. "Families with children, especially young families, have been left so far behind that it has taken a prolonged recovery to reach them."

While the decline in child poverty is heartening, the number of poor children remains extraordinarily high—2.1 million higher than in 1989, before the last recession, and higher than in almost any year among the past 30. For example, from 1966 to 1979 the child poverty rate never went as high as 18 percent. "We have a lot of work ahead of us, if we are going to do what is essential—lift large numbers of children out of poverty—and do so soon," says CDF General Counsel Jim Weill. "That task is even harder, since the number of children pulled out of poverty over the past two years is less than the number that likely will be thrown *into* poverty under the new welfare repeal law."

Children are the poorest group

In 1995, a child was nearly twice as likely as an adult to be poor (21 percent vs. 11 percent). Children make up 27 percent of the nation's population, but 40 percent of poor Americans (see Figure 1).

America's youngest children continue to be the poorest (almost one in four children younger than 6 (24 percent) was poor in 1995—and minority children also continue to be disproportionately poor. While the child poverty rate declined among all ethnic groups in 1995, Black children still are far more likely than White children to live in poverty (42 percent vs. 16.2 percent). For a number of years, the fastest-growing group of poor children has been Hispanic children. In fact, even with a slight decrease in 1995, the proportion of Hispanic children living in poverty rose rapidly from 28

(See page 6)

Child poverty declining, but rates still far too high

(Continued from page 5)

percent in 1979 to 40 percent in 1995, nearing the poverty rate among Black children (see Figure 2).

The persistent poverty gap between Black, Brown, and White children, the concentration of Black poverty in the poorest and most segregated neighborhoods, and the declining quality of available jobs and continuing decline in job opportunities for young Blacks and Hispanics without high school diplomas, all underscore the continuing crisis for Black and Hispanic children," says Jessica Nembhard, economic development analyst for CDF's Black Community Crusade for Children (BCCC). "This crisis requires that we develop strong local networks, and business-and-government partnerships in our communities." New economic realities mean that rising economic tides no longer raise all boats, says Nembhard, a problem that will continue in the next millennium.

The U.S. census report also found that median earnings for full-time, year-round workers barely changed, reflecting continuing stagnation in workers' hourly earnings. Although earnings stagnated, there was a rise in median household income for Black and White Americans, but that rise was not shared by Hispanic households. In fact, in 1994 and 1995, for the first time, the household income of Hispanics fell below that of Blacks, and the overall poverty rate for Hispanic Americans surpassed that of Blacks.

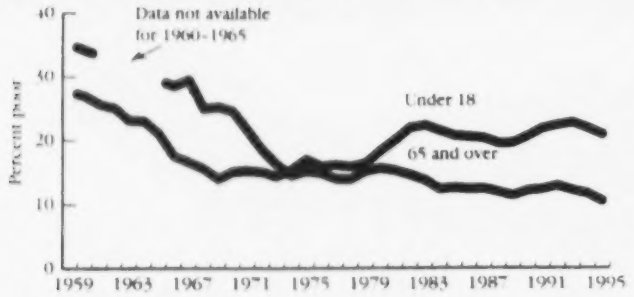
Further reducing child poverty

Work and child support are the primary routes out of poverty for families with children, says Deborah Weinstein, CDF family income director. But some parents—especially those moving from welfare to work—may need help finding and keeping jobs with decent wages. The public and private sectors must work together to give parents the tools that will enable them to support their families, such as job training and apprenticeships, affordable child care, and improved access to transportation and health care for their children.

"States implementing the new welfare law can take advantage of the economy's current strength to help parents find jobs," says Weinstein. "When parents work, their children should never be poor. If the state and federal governments help families combine wages, child support, and other income supplements if needed, they can end *poverty* as we know it—the goal of *real* reform."

Figure 1 U.S. Poverty Trends

U.S. poverty rates of children and those over 65, 1958–1995



*Source: Bureau of the Census

Figure 2 U.S. Child Poverty Rates

Child poverty totals and rates, 1995, and changes, 1994–1995, by race/ethnicity, location, region, and parents' marital status

	1995 Child Population		Poverty Rate		
	Total	Poor			Percent
	(Numbers in thousands)		1995	1994	change
Total	70,566	14,665	20.8%	21.8%	-4.6%
White	55,444	8,981	16.2	16.9	-4.1
Black	11,369	4,761	41.9	43.8	-4.3
Hispanic*	10,213	4,080	40.0	41.5	-3.6
Central city	20,870	6,836	32.8	33.1	-0.9
Suburb	35,602	4,667	13.1	14.9	-12.1
Rural	14,094	3,162	22.4	22.6	-0.9
Northeast	13,059	2,477	19.0	20.1	-5.5
Midwest	16,709	2,825	16.9	19.1	-11.5
South	24,224	5,69	23.5	23.8	-1.3
West	16,574	3,665	22.1	23.1	-4.3
Children in families**	69,425	13,999	20.2	21.2	-4.7
Married parents	49,811	4,971	10.0	10.8	-7.4
Mother only	16,637	8,364	50.3	52.9	-4.9
Father only	2,977	664	22.3	27.1	-17.7
Family member works at least part of year	64,076	9,342	14.6	15.0	-2.7
Family member works full time, year round	52,795	3,899	7.4	7.3	1.4

*Persons of Hispanic origin may be of any race.
**In Census terms, "related children."
Source: Bureau of the Census

Special Report

Infant health improving

The health of America's babies is improving slowly, according to new government figures released this fall. The National Center for Health Statistics (NCHS) says that in 1994, fewer babies died before their first birthday than in 1993, and the number of babies born to mothers receiving early prenatal care increased. At the same time, however, the NCHS, a division of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), reported that the percentage of babies born at low birthweight rose again, driven in part by an increase in the number of teens having low-birthweight babies (see story, page 9).

"The overall picture for infant health is looking brighter," says CDF Health Director Stan Dorn. "But we must do a better job of getting mothers access to good nutrition and early and adequate prenatal care, so that even more babies get a healthy start in life."

Infant mortality decreases

The infant mortality rate has been falling steadily for the past 10 years, albeit not as fast as it fell in the mid-1960s to mid-1970s. In 1994, 31,710 babies died before their first birthday, for a rate of 8.0 deaths per 1,000 live births, compared with 8.2 deaths per 1,000 in 1993. Despite this decline, the United States still has one of the highest infant mortality rates among industrialized nations. The infant mortality rate for Black babies decreased to 15.8, but remained more than twice that for White babies (6.6), which also decreased slightly in 1994 (see Figure 7).

NCHS attributed the decrease to lower incidences of sudden infant death syndrome and respiratory distress syndrome—two of the leading causes of infant death. Rises in infant mortality from perinatal infections, pneumonia and influenza, and neonatal hemorrhage prevented the infant mortality rate from falling even further. Preliminary data for 1995 indicate that the infant mortality rate dropped again in that year, for a record low of 7.5 infant deaths per 1,000 deaths. If final data confirm this substantial drop, says Dorn, that will be very good news.

Prenatal care increases

Part of the reason more babies are surviving their first birthday is that more pregnant women are receiving early prenatal care, says Barbara Kelley-Sease, director of CDF's Black Community Crusade for Children (BCCC), and an expert on teen pregnancy and parenting (see Figure 3, below). The U.S. Surgeon General has set a goal of raising the proportion of babies born to women receiving early prenatal care to 90 percent by the year 2000.

As of 1994, 80 percent of babies were born to mothers who received early prenatal care. While this rate is higher than ever before, most of the increase can be attributed to an increase in early prenatal care among women ages 25 to 39, who gave birth to three-quarters of the nation's babies. There was only a slight increase in the proportion of younger mothers who received early prenatal care (see story, page 9). Moreover, at the pace of overall improvement from 1990 to 1994, the nation will not even get

(See page 8)

Figure 3 — **Prenatal Care Trends**

Trends in prenatal care, as a percent of births, by race of mother, 1980–1994

	Early* prenatal care			Late** or no prenatal care		
	All races	White	Black	All races	White	Black
1980	76.3%	79.2%	62.4%	5.1%	4.3%	8.9%
1981	76.3	79.3	62.1	5.2	4.3	9.2
1982	76.1	79.2	61.1	5.5	4.5	9.7
1983	76.2	79.3	61.2	5.6	4.6	9.8
1984	76.5	79.6	61.9	5.6	4.7	9.7
1985	76.2	79.3	61.5	5.7	4.8	10.2
1986	75.9	79.1	61.2	6.0	5.0	10.7
1987	76.0	79.3	60.8	6.1	5.0	11.2
1988	75.9	79.3	60.7	6.1	5.0	11.0
1989	75.5	78.9	60.0	6.4	5.2	11.9
1990	75.8	79.2	60.6	6.1	4.9	11.3
1991	76.2	79.5	61.9	5.8	4.7	10.7
1992	77.7	80.8	63.9	5.2	4.2	9.9
1993	78.9	81.8	66.0	4.8	3.9	9.0
1994	80.2	82.8	68.3	4.4	3.6	8.2

*Care begun in the first three months of pregnancy
**Care begun in the last three months of pregnancy
Source: National Center for Health Statistics

Infant health improving

(Continued from page 7)

close to the year 2000 goal, says Dorn.

Preliminary data for 1995 show that the percentage of babies born to women who received early prenatal care had climbed to 81.2 percent.

More low-birthweight births

Although the proportion of babies born to mothers receiving early prenatal care has increased and the infant mortality rate has declined, the percentage of babies born at low birthweight (less than 5.5 pounds) is *increasing*. In 1994, almost 300,000 babies—7.3 percent—were born at low birthweight, compared with 7.2 percent in 1993. The proportion of babies born at low birthweight has been rising since 1985, and is now at its highest level in 20 years. Levels of low-birthweight births in 1994 increased for Whites and Hispanics, while the rate for Blacks fell. Preliminary NCHS data indicate that the incidence of low birthweight was unchanged in 1995 (see Figure 4, below).

The increase in low-birthweight births is driven in part by younger mothers, who are less likely than older mothers to receive early prenatal care and adequate nutrition, for a wide range of reasons including lack of health insurance and lack of education.

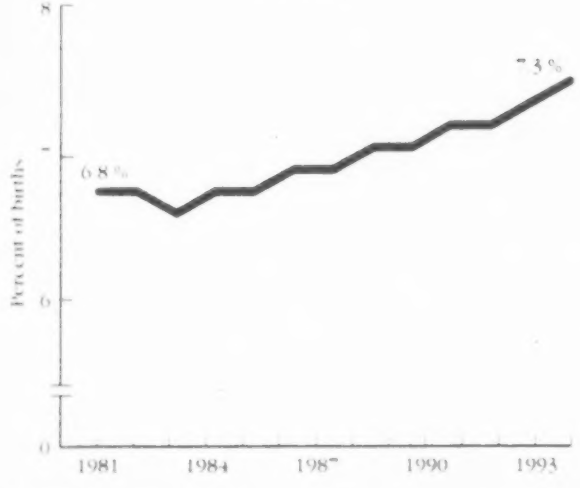
"The incidence of low-birthweight births is frustrating," says Kelley-Sease, "because we *know* how to solve this problem. We not only need to get even more women early prenatal care, but mothers, especially teen mothers, need better access to services like WIC [the Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants, and Children] so they can receive nutritious food. It's so tragic when babies start out poorly, because too often they don't get better or get a fair chance in life."

In fact, infants born at low birthweight are 20 times more likely to die during infancy. Low-birthweight babies who survive remain at much greater risk of such lifelong disabilities as mental retardation, blindness, deafness, cerebral palsy, and other health problems.

At the current rate, the nation will fail to meet six of the U.S. Surgeon General's eight major goals for maternal and infant health for the year 2000, says Kelley-Sease. "Advocates and service providers must continue to hammer home the messages to expectant mothers and policy makers, that prenatal care is a must, and that dietary and lifestyle habits during pregnancy and the economic circumstances and health insurance status of young families determine babies' futures."

Figure 4: Low-Birthweight Trends

Trends in low-birthweight* births, as a percent of births, 1981–1994



	By race of mother		
	All races	White	Black
1981	6.8%	5.7%	12.7%
1982	6.8	5.6	12.6
1983	6.8	5.7	12.8
1984	6.7	5.6	12.6
1985	6.8	5.7	12.6
1986	6.8	5.7	12.8
1987	6.9	5.7	13.0
1988	6.9	5.7	13.3
1989	7.0	5.7	13.5
1990	7.0	5.7	13.3
1991	7.1	5.8	13.6
1992	7.1	5.8	13.3
1993	7.2	6.0	13.3
1994	7.3	6.1	13.2

*Less than 2,500 grams (5 lbs., 8 oz.)
Source: National Center for Health Statistics

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Special Report

Teen birth rate falling

Teens were less likely to have babies in 1994 than in 1993, according to new figures by the National Center for Health Statistics (NCHS).

In 1994, 505,488 babies were born to girls ages 15 to 19, for a rate of 58.9 births per 1,000 girls, according to NCHS. This is down from the 1993 teen birth rate of 59.6.

Preliminary data from the government show the teen birth rate dropped almost 3 percent between 1994 and 1995, to 56.9 births per 1,000 girls. "If these declines hold true when the government's final data are released next year," says Barbara Kelley-Sease, director of CDF's Black Community Crusade for Children (BCCC), "that would mean the teen birth rate has fallen 8 percent since 1991. That is a very exciting picture."

The drop in the teen birth rate seen in the past three years comes after a steady increase between 1986 and 1991, and leaves the rate still considerably above those experienced throughout most of the 1980s. Almost all of the decline in the teen birth rate in 1994 occurred among Black teens, although the Black teen birth rate, at 104.5 births per 1,000, remains extremely high (see Figure 8).

Birth rate for Black unwed teens falls

While the overall birth rate for unmarried teens increased slightly in 1994, to 46.4 births per 1,000 from 44.5 in 1993, the birth rate for unmarried Black teens declined for the third year in a row, to 100.9 per 1,000.

A total of 381,499 babies were born to unmarried teens in 1994. Contrary to common belief, it is White teens who increasingly have been having babies out of wedlock.

The decline in the teen birth rate, particularly among Black teens, "is a *very* encouraging trend," says Kelley-Sease. "Clearly, we are making some inroads in helping teens avoid too-early pregnancy and childbearing."

Preliminary data for 1995 show that the birth rate for unmarried women dropped for the first time in 20 years.

Focus on education, prevention

Experts believe that the falling teen birth rate is related to increased access to and use of contraceptives, particularly among older, sexually active teens, and not to increased abortion rates. "There has been an increase in sex education programs that provide information about contraception, sexually transmitted diseases, and abstinence, to help teens make responsible decisions," says Donna Butts, executive director of the National Organization on Adolescent Pregnancy, Parenting, and Prevention (NOAPPP). "The message to teens is starting to seep through."

Long-standing comprehensive youth development programs that inspire teens—female and male—to plan and work toward productive futures, and school-based health services that meet teens' needs for health care, also are starting to take hold in more communities, says Butts (see pages 12 and 13). Many of these services have been targeted to high-risk teens, she says, which may account for the substantial

(See page 12)

Figure 5 — **U.S. Births**

Selected characteristics of births, by race and Hispanic origin of mother, as a percent of births, 1994

Characteristic	All races	White	Black	Native American	Asian, Pacific Islander	Hispanic
Early prenatal care*	80.2%	82.8%	68.3%	65.2%	79.9%	68.9%
Late or no prenatal care**	4.4	3.6	8.2	9.8	4.1	7.6
Low birthweight***	7.3	6.1	13.2	6.4	6.8	6.2
Very low birthweight****	1.3	1.0	3.0	1.1	0.9	1.1
Births to teens	13.1	11.3	23.2	21.0	5.7	17.8
Births to unmarried women	32.6	25.4	70.4	57.0	16.2	43.1
Births to mothers who have not completed high school	22.9	21.7	29.3	34.0	17.4	52.7

*Prenatal care begun in the first three months of pregnancy.
**Prenatal care begun in the last three months of pregnancy, or not at all.
***Less than 2,500 grams (5 lb., 8oz.).
****Less than 1,500 grams (3 lb., 4oz.).
Note: Persons of Hispanic origin can be of any race.
Source: National Center for Health Statistics.

Percent of babies born to mothers receiving early prenatal care and late or no prenatal care, by race of mother, 1994

		Early* prenatal care			Late** or no prenatal care		
	Total births	All races	White	Black	All races	White	Black
Alabama	60,939	81.3%	87.6%	69.2%	3.9%	2.3%	7.1%
Alaska	10,678	84.6	86.3	85.6	2.8	2.4	—
Arizona	70,846	71.6	73.0	69.3	7.4	6.9	8.3
Arkansas	34,718	75.0	79.1	61.2	6.1	4.6	11.3
California	567,930	77.7	77.5	75.5	4.9	5.0	5.5
Colorado	54,071	80.7	81.6	69.9	4.6	4.3	8.4
Connecticut	45,655	88.5	90.4	76.3	2.2	1.7	5.4
Delaware	10,411	83.0	87.3	68.5	3.6	2.2	8.0
District of Columbia	9,930	57.3	84.3	53.1	15.4	5.8	17.0
Florida	190,654	81.2	84.8	69.4	3.6	2.8	6.5
Georgia	111,011	81.9	87.1	72.6	3.8	2.5	6.3
Hawaii	19,517	84.3	87.3	84.3	3.1	2.0	—
Idaho	17,526	78.9	79.2	80.6	4.5	4.4	—
Illinois	189,257	80.3	84.3	66.0	4.4	3.0	9.3
Indiana	82,595	80.6	82.5	64.7	3.7	3.2	8.3
Iowa	37,079	87.3	87.9	71.4	2.4	2.2	6.9
Kansas	37,379	84.6	85.9	73.1	3.1	2.7	6.6
Kentucky	52,983	83.0	84.4	69.3	3.0	2.6	7.1
Louisiana	67,817	79.2	87.0	68.7	4.2	2.1	7.0
Maine	14,441	89.4	89.6	75.0	1.4	1.4	—
Maryland	73,971	86.5	91.3	76.8	3.5	1.8	7.0
Massachusetts	83,787	89.0	90.6	78.0	1.9	1.5	4.9
Michigan	138,028	82.5	86.0	68.1	3.7	2.6	8.3
Minnesota	64,305	83.0	86.0	58.0	3.0	2.1	12.3
Mississippi	41,954	75.9	85.7	65.1	5.0	2.6	7.6
Missouri	73,543	83.9	86.6	70.1	3.2	2.2	8.2
Montana	11,067	81.6	84.0	84.4	3.4	2.5	—
Nebraska	23,156	83.4	84.6	69.4	3.0	2.6	7.1
Nevada	23,911	75.1	76.3	64.6	7.6	7.1	11.8
New Hampshire	15,106	88.6	88.7	73.3	1.9	1.8	—
New Jersey	117,501	82.2	86.5	65.0	4.5	2.8	11.1
New Mexico	27,591	66.9	69.5	58.9	7.9	6.6	11.4
New York	278,392	75.6	79.8	61.3	6.1	4.8	10.7
North Carolina	101,420	81.9	87.4	68.4	3.8	2.2	7.6
North Dakota	8,584	83.0	84.5	88.2	2.0	1.6	—
Ohio	155,944	84.0	86.7	69.1	3.5	2.6	8.8
Oklahoma	45,703	76.1	79.1	65.4	6.1	4.9	11.4
Oregon	41,837	79.1	79.6	71.2	4.3	4.2	5.6
Pennsylvania	157,071	81.8	85.6	61.4	4.4	2.9	12.6
Rhode Island	13,466	89.4	90.8	77.3	1.6	1.4	3.2
South Carolina	52,043	76.1	84.2	62.9	5.6	3.1	9.6
South Dakota	10,507	81.8	85.2	70.0	3.9	2.3	—
Tennessee	73,191	81.8	85.5	69.3	3.8	2.6	7.2
Texas	321,114	75.5	76.1	70.4	6.1	5.9	7.4
Utah	38,279	85.5	86.4	70.3	2.8	2.4	8.8
Vermont	7,377	86.0	86.3	—	2.1	2.1	—
Virginia	95,039	82.9	87.0	70.8	3.5	2.3	7.0
Washington	77,358	82.5	83.4	75.6	3.4	3.1	6.0
West Virginia	21,375	80.0	80.6	65.0	3.4	3.1	9.7
Wisconsin	68,282	83.3	86.8	63.1	3.5	2.4	11.1
Wyoming	6,428	82.3	83.2	63.9	3.6	3.2	—
United States	3,952,767	80.2	82.8	68.3	4.4	3.6	8.2

*Care begun in the first three months of pregnancy
**Care begun in the last three months of pregnancy
—Number too small to calculate a reliable rate
Source: National Center for Health Statistics

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Low-birthweight births and infant mortality, by race of mother, 1994

	Low birthweight*			Total infant deaths**	Infant mortality rates***		
	All races	White	Black		All races	White	Black
Alabama	9.0%	6.9%	13.2%	618	10.1	7.0	16.4
Alaska	5.5	5.0	10.7	81	7.6	6.9	—
Arizona	6.8	6.6	12.8	554	7.8	7.4	16.5
Arkansas	8.2	6.8	12.8	320	9.2	8.2	13.0
California	6.2	5.5	12.5	3,967	7.0	6.5	15.2
Colorado	8.5	8.1	15.5	378	7.0	6.4	20.2
Connecticut	6.9	6.0	12.7	360	7.9	6.5	18.3
Delaware	7.4	6.0	11.6	71	6.8	5.1	—
District of Columbia	14.2	5.3	16.1	181	18.2	—	20.9
Florida	7.7	6.3	12.5	1,548	8.1	6.5	13.9
Georgia	8.6	6.3	12.8	1,129	10.2	7.1	16.1
Hawaii	7.2	5.8	11.9	130	6.7	—	—
Idaho	5.5	5.5	—	121	6.9	6.7	—
Illinois	7.9	5.9	14.8	1,753	9.3	6.8	18.7
Indiana	6.8	6.2	12.4	728	8.8	7.6	19.5
Iowa	5.9	5.6	13.2	277	7.5	7.0	—
Kansas	6.5	5.9	12.5	286	7.7	6.9	15.9
Kentucky	7.1	7.2	12.4	413	7.8	7.1	14.7
Louisiana	9.6	6.4	14.1	718	10.6	6.8	16.0
Maine	5.7	5.8	—	89	6.2	6.0	—
Maryland	8.5	6.2	13.0	664	9.0	6.2	14.7
Massachusetts	6.4	5.8	11.0	502	6.0	5.6	11.0
Michigan	7.8	6.1	14.4	1,191	8.6	6.3	19.3
Minnesota	5.7	5.2	12.4	452	7.0	6.2	18.6
Mississippi	9.9	6.7	13.3	460	11.0	7.3	14.7
Missouri	7.6	6.4	13.5	597	8.1	6.6	16.3
Montana	6.2	6.3	—	82	7.4	7.1	—
Nebraska	6.1	5.7	12.9	179	7.7	7.2	—
Nevada	7.6	6.9	14.2	156	6.5	6.2	—
New Hampshire	5.1	5.1	—	94	6.2	6.1	—
New Jersey	7.6	6.1	13.5	910	7.7	5.8	16.3
New Mexico	7.3	7.5	9.1	229	8.3	7.9	—
New York	7.6	6.2	12.6	2,169	7.8	6.0	14.4
North Carolina	8.7	6.7	13.6	1,017	10.0	7.5	16.6
North Dakota	5.4	5.1	—	62	7.2	6.5	—
Ohio	7.5	6.4	13.6	1,362	8.7	7.2	17.7
Oklahoma	7.0	6.6	12.2	388	8.5	8.3	11.3
Oregon	5.3	5.1	10.2	295	7.1	6.9	—
Pennsylvania	7.4	6.2	14.4	1,293	8.2	6.4	18.6
Rhode Island	6.5	6.0	11.6	68	5.0	4.1	—
South Carolina	9.2	6.7	13.2	485	9.3	6.6	14.1
South Dakota	5.9	5.6	—	101	9.6	7.6	—
Tennessee	8.8	7.1	14.6	652	8.9	6.3	18.0
Texas	7.0	6.2	12.8	2,289	7.1	6.4	12.6
Utah	5.9	5.9	10.1	236	6.2	5.8	—
Vermont	6.0	5.9	—	55	7.5	7.6	—
Virginia	7.5	6.0	12.5	790	8.3	6.4	15.1
Washington	5.3	5.0	10.1	482	6.2	6.0	14.7
West Virginia	7.5	7.3	12.0	144	6.7	6.6	—
Wisconsin	6.4	5.5	14.3	541	7.9	6.5	20.2
Wyoming	8.8	8.8	—	43	6.7	6.6	—
United States	7.3	6.1	13.2	31,710	8.0	6.6	15.8

*Less than 2,500 grams (5 lbs., 8 oz.)

**Deaths before the first birthday

***Infant deaths before the first birthday per 1,000 live births

—Number too small to calculate a reliable rate

Source: National Center for Health Statistics

Teen birth rate falling

(Continued from page 9)

drop in Black teen birth rates and the increase in the number of Black teens receiving early prenatal care.

Health of teens' babies

Babies born to teen mothers have a greater chance of having health problems, partly because pregnant teens are less likely than older mothers to receive early prenatal care.

While the proportion of teens receiving early prenatal care increased slightly in 1994, it remained shockingly low. According to NCHS, fewer than two-thirds—64.3 percent—of teen mothers received prenatal care during their first three months of pregnancy in 1994; in 1993, only 61.9 percent of teens did so. Even though White teens are much more likely to receive early prenatal care than Black teens, all of the increase in babies born to teen mothers receiving early prenatal care in 1994 was among Blacks.

Eight percent of teen mothers in 1994 received prenatal care only in their last trimester, or no prenatal care at all, down from 8.9 percent in 1993.

Because so many teens fail to receive early prenatal care and do not receive adequate nutrition, their babies are more likely to be born at low birthweight. In 1994, 9.3 percent of babies born to all teens were at low birthweight—almost one in 10—compared with 9.2 percent in 1993. Levels of low-birthweight teen births in 1994 increased for Whites, while the rate for Blacks fell.

Battle not over

There is a long way to go before we fully understand how to prevent teen pregnancy, says Kelley-Sease. Part of the difficulty, she says, is that so many factors contribute to teen pregnancy—such as poverty, inadequate education, and limited career opportunities. Kelley-Sease says many of the pregnant teens she has worked with have been sexually or physically abused—often by an adult man who is an acquaintance or relative—which leads to low self-esteem and a sense of hopelessness. Girls with diminished confidence and no sense of their future are more likely to become pregnant as teens, she says.

To prevent too-early pregnancies, young people need improved education and strong basic skills, says Kelley-Sease. "Young people who are behind a grade or have poor basic skills or poor school attendance are at high risk of too-early parenthood," says Kelley-Sease. "Low-income and minority teens have higher rates of school failure, and we must target more of our education efforts to those groups."

Teens also need jobs, work-related skills-building, and exposure to the working world. They need sexuality and parenting education, and help from parents, schools, and congregations in integrating such information into their values and thoughts about themselves. They need a range of comprehensive and convenient health services. And they need a clear vision of a path to a successful and self-sufficient future.

"Reducing teen pregnancy must become a leading priority for parents, policy makers, and community leaders," says Kelley-Sease. "Teens will succeed only if adults provide positive role models, values, and support."

Suggested resources

- National Organization on Adolescent Pregnancy, Parenting, and Prevention (NOAPPP), 1319 F St. NW, Suite 401, Washington, DC 20004; 202-783-5770.
- National Center for Health Statistics, 6525 Belcrest Rd., Hyattsville, MD 20782; Web site: http://www.cdc.gov/nchswww/96pubs.htm. Documents are in PDF files. To read these files, you need the Acrobat Reader, available for download, at no charge, from: http://www.adobe.com/Acrobat/.

Taking it to the streets

In Newark, N.J., girls in four grammar schools located in high-risk neighborhoods participate in Best Friends, a program supporting teens who postpone sex at least until their high school graduation. Founded in Washington, D.C., Best Friends provides regular lessons on health, love, friendship, dating, self-respect, stress, physical fitness, and goal-setting.

"We've found that young girls are very receptive to support for abstinence and enjoy the fun and friendship that Best Friends brings," says Rosemarie Peterkin, Best Friends executive director. "It's a struggle for many of our girls. Most of them grow up in poverty and have so much sadness. This gives them the chance to belong to something."

Since 1993, when Newark's Best Friends program began, a total of 350 girls have been through the program, and only one pregnancy has been reported. In Washington, D.C., 440 Best Friends girls were tracked over a nine-year period. During that time, only two pregnancies were reported, and all of the girls graduated from high school.

Best Friends members do not sign an official pledge, but they agree to reject drugs and to abstain from sex. In addition to their schoolwork and Best Friends' lessons, the girls get involved in community service. Once a week, they meet with mentors based at their schools.

Girls who have participated in Best Friends for three years become "Diamond Girls" and receive a gold pin. Diamond Girls meet one Saturday each month and go on educational field trips.

"Girls come away with a fine understanding that they must set goals and stand firm to their ideals, and that all aspects of life are choices," says Peterkin. "Too many teenagers have sex because they think everyone is doing it. We want them to know that there's nothing wrong with waiting to have sex so that they have a better chance of leading happy, healthy, and productive lives."

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Taking it to the streets

Fathers play a critical role in their children's lives. To help fathers avoid too-early fatherhood and become better parents, the Union Industrial Home for Children (UIH) in Trenton, N.J., developed First Steps and Operation Fatherhood.

First Steps was designed in collaboration with Planned Parenthood in 1989, for teen fathers and potential fathers ages 13 to 17. The young men attend a weekly peer support group where they talk about their role as fathers, and take lessons on health and sexuality. "First Steps helps young men see that when they have a child, that is a lifetime commitment, and they have a legal obligation as a parent until the child is 18," says Joseph Thomas, UIH interim executive director. "They learn that if they are sexually active, then they are involved in more than a casual, fun relationship. They are potentially fathers." First Steps also has a cultural component, in which the young men take college tours or visit museums so "they can see themselves in a larger context than the city of Trenton."

Operation Fatherhood, begun in April 1992, is for men ages 18 to 44 who are non-custodial parents of children receiving public assistance. Fathers who are in court for paternity establishment or failure to pay child support are referred to Operation Fatherhood, where they attend a peer support group, as well as job-readiness classes that help them with resume-writing and interviewing skills. Then they undertake job searches.

Most men find jobs within one to three months, says Thomas. Once a man finds a job, a UIH "job coach" checks in regularly with the employer and the employee for the first six months, to make sure everything is going smoothly. A portion of each man's wages from each paycheck is automatically garnisheed for child support.

Preliminary results from a Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation study of 312 men enrolled in Operation Fatherhood showed that 54 percent, or 171 men, were placed in jobs. Of those, 86 were still employed, and 61 of those had been employed for six months or longer.

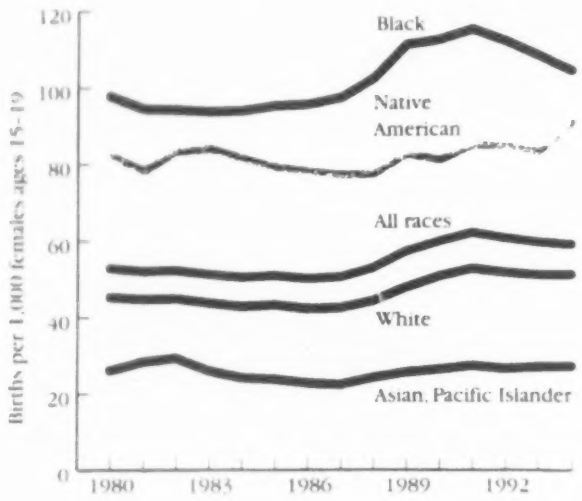
Operation Fatherhood men are welcome to use UIH's resources at any time, and working men can attend nightly support groups. There are group outings, such as a recent trip to the aquarium, where fathers can share experiences with their children and be good role models.

"Men do care, and they want to be involved with their children," says Thomas. "Having a knowledge of the child support system, getting support for being positively involved with their children, and receiving help with finding a job that has livable wages and enables them to fulfill their responsibilities to the child—these make all the difference in the world."

Figure 8 — Teen Births

Trends in teen birth rates,* by race of mother, 1980–1994

	All races	White	Black	Native American	Asian, Pacific Islander
1980	53.0	45.4	97.8	82.2	26.2
1981	52.2	44.9	94.5	78.4	28.5
1982	52.4	45.0	94.3	83.5	29.4
1983	51.4	43.9	93.9	84.2	26.1
1984	50.6	42.9	94.1	81.5	24.2
1985	51.0	43.3	95.4	79.2	23.8
1986	50.2	42.3	95.8	78.1	22.8
1987	50.6	42.5	97.6	77.2	22.4
1988	53.0	44.4	102.7	77.5	24.2
1989	57.3	47.9	111.5	82.7	25.6
1990	59.9	50.8	112.8	81.1	26.4
1991	62.1	52.8	115.5	85.0	27.4
1992	60.7	51.8	112.4	84.4	26.6
1993	59.6	51.1	108.6	83.1	27.0
1994	58.9	51.1	104.5	90.8	27.1



*Births per 1,000 females ages 15–19
Source: National Center for Health Statistics

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Most children's services spared; children lose national safety net

(Continued from page 1)

final bill at the same time that key guarantees for children were maintained.

Moreover, just weeks after the new welfare law was signed, Congress started passing amendments suggesting a recognition that the new law has problems and will need more changes. One of these amendments restores $120 million in Fiscal Year 1997 to the Title XX Social Services Block Grant, which provides states with funding to support a wide range of social services such as child care, child protection services, and home health care. In addition, the amendments allow legal immigrant children and their parents already in the country to continue to get food stamps until April 1, 1997.

Head Start and education

One of the biggest boosts for children in FY 1997 is a $411 million increase in Head Start funding. The increase, says CDF Child Care Director Helen Blank, will be used to help Head Start programs meet greater needs for child care, early childhood education, health, nutrition, and social services.

In FY 1997, $19 million of a $20 million increase for the Child Care and Development Block Grant (CCDBG) will help states continue their investments in resource and referral programs, and before- and after-school child care. These activities previously were funded through the Dependent Care Block Grant, which is no longer funded as a separate program. The added funds will be especially important to states, since parents will need additional child care assistance as they move from welfare to work, says Blank.

Other positive steps for children were taken in education. In FY 1997, Congress approved a $141 million increase for the Goals 2000 program, a two-year-old initiative designed to help communities and states reform schools and school systems. Title I, which currently serves about 5 million children annually and distributes funds to more than 90 percent of the nation's school districts to help them serve disadvantaged students in high-poverty schools, received a $470 million increase.

Maternal and child health

The Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act of 1996, known as the Kennedy-Kassebaum law, will make it harder for insurance companies to discriminate against children and adults with health problems. The legislation, which takes effect July 1, 1997, says that insurers must continue to offer individual coverage to people who lose group coverage because they leave jobs. And as people move into jobs or from one employer to another, group health plans cannot deny them coverage for pre-existing conditions (which can only be medical conditions for which there has been advice, diagnosis, or treatment within the previous six months) for more than 12 months. That 12-month period, in turn, is reduced by the period of prior continuous coverage, whether through private insurance, Medicaid, or other programs or health plans.

The Newborns' and Mothers' Health Protection Act of 1996 is designed to give babies a better start in life and ensure their mothers have a safe recovery after delivery. It requires insurers to cover at least 48 hours of hospitalization after a normal vaginal delivery, and 96 hours after a Caesarean-section delivery.

And the Mental Health Parity Act of 1996, which takes effect on January 1, 1998, recognizes that mental health problems must be treated like any other illness. The act says insurers that provide health coverage for employees and dependents through an employer with more than 50 employees cannot set annual or lifetime benefit limits on mental health services lower than the limits on physical health services.

Adoption and child protection

Congress made several changes in 1996 that will improve a child's chances of being adopted, and will strengthen child abuse and neglect laws, says CDF Child Welfare Director MaryLee Allen.

The Adoption Tax Credit and Gross Income Exclusion, part of the Small Business Protection Act, gives adoptive parents an income tax credit of up to $5,000 per child, or $6,000 for a child with special needs. The Multiethnic Placement Act was amended to clarify that federally funded foster care and adoption agencies cannot delay or deny a child's placement based on the race, color, or national origin of the child or the prospective parent. And the Adoption Opportunities Act was reauthorized with minor changes to provide money for recruiting, training, and retaining adoptive parents, especially for children with special needs.

To prevent child abuse and neglect, the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act Amendments of 1996 reauthorized the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act (CAPTA) and other child protection programs through FY 2001. The CAPTA amendments preserve essential protections for children, including the requirement that a guardian *ad litem* ("for the suit") be appointed to represent an abused or neglected child in court, and add several new protections to respond to the problems of false reports of child abuse and neglect, and delays in terminating parental rights. The Community-based Family Resource and Support Grant Program, reauthorized in the amendments, will enhance the establishment of family support center networks in states. And an amendment to the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act, modeled after a New Jersey statute known as "Megan's Law," requires states and local law enforcement officials to make public where people who are convicted of crimes against children or sexually violent offenses, settle when they are released from prison.

Crime prevention and gun control

"Everyone wants a safe community," says Sweeney, "and prevention is what keeps children safe and out of trouble after school and on weekends." In 1996, however, funding for crime prevention took a back seat to increased federal funds for local law enforcement.

Despite the bipartisan promise of more than $500 million annually for community-based crime prevention initiatives for children in the 1994 crime law, very little of that money actually has been provided by Congress. For example, Community Schools, a program that provides money to local schools and community groups working to pre-

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Most children's services spared; children lose national safety net

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vent crime and violence, received only $12.8 million (15 percent) of the $85.1 million authorized for FY 1997 (which started October 1, 1996). And while efforts to kill Community Schools entirely failed, Congress shifted much of the crime prevention money into a new Local Law Enforcement Block Grant, which can be used for new police cars and computers rather than for children's services.

In addition, the Prisoner Litigation Reform Act (PLRA) will prevent children under age 18 from suing jails or prison officials for abuses they experience while incarcerated.

On the positive side, discussions of rolling back gun control laws did not become law, and the Domestic Violence Firearms Ban, passed in 1996, bars people convicted of domestic violence misdemeanors from possessing or purchasing firearms. (The 1993 Brady Law already prohibits people convicted of felonies from owning or buying guns.)

Family income

One important bill enacted in 1996 will help lift the incomes of low-income working families. In October, the Minimum Wage Increase Act of 1996 raised the minimum wage for hourly workers to $4.75. Beginning September 1, 1997, the minimum wage will rise again, to $5.15 an hour. Employers can continue to pay employees under 20 $4.25 an hour for their first 90 days of employment. But employers are not allowed to displace older workers in order to hire young employees at this lower training wage.

Other 1996 legislation

While efforts to eliminate the Legal Services Corporation (LSC) and block-grant the funds to states were unsuccessful, Congress did act to restrict LSC-funded programs in a number of ways that will limit legal help available to low-income families and others. For example, LSC-funded legal aid attorneys now can't file class action suits and can't represent welfare applicants or recipients in challenges to the new welfare repeal law.

What did not become law

Many congressional proposals affecting children—some of them very harmful—did *not* become law, says CDF Director of Government Affairs Eileen Sweeney. "Congress' failures to enact some of its most harmful proposals should be considered significant victories for children," says Sweeney. The failed bills most harmful to children include:

- The balanced budget amendment, which would change the U.S. Constitution to require the federal budget to be balanced every year. While CDF supports deficit reduction, balanced budget proposals historically have been structured unfairly, cutting services that help children and families, and calling for no sacrifices from corporations, defense contractors, or wealthy individuals.
- Proposals to block-grant Medicaid, food stamps, school lunches, and other child nutrition programs, foster care, adoption assistance, and other child protection programs, and drastically cut Supplemental Security Income (SSI).
- The House-passed repeal of the assault weapons ban, which the Senate never considered.
- The Gallegly amendment to the immigration bill, which would have allowed states to bar illegal immigrant children from public schools, contrary to a Supreme Court ruling.
- A requirement that legal immigrant children receiving any benefits for 12 months could be deported.
- Several juvenile justice and youth crime bills, including the McCollum Violent Youth Predator Act, which would have required more juveniles to be tried as adults and imprisoned with adults; and the Dole-Hatch-Ashcroft Violent and Repeat Juvenile Offender Reform Act, which would have lowered the federal death penalty age to 16 and gutted the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act (JJDPA).
- The Istook amendment, which would have silenced the voices of the nonprofit community, including many voices for children and families, by severely limiting how nonprofits with some federal support use their *non*governmental funds to advocate or lobby.
- The Bilbray Citizenship Reform Act, which would have denied U.S. citizenship to children born in this country, if their parents were not legal residents.
- The public housing reform bill, which would have severely restricted poor families' access to public and assisted housing programs and weakened protections against housing discrimination for families with children.
- The Local Empowerment and Flexibility Act, which would have allowed states and communities to apply for exemptions from a wide range of federal laws and regulations, jeopardizing many key protections for children.

Congress failed to reauthorize some key programs for children and young people, leaving their long-term fate to be resolved next year. These include the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA), which passed the House but not the Senate; the JJDPA; the Child Mental Health Services Program; and the Child and Adolescent Service System Program (CASSP). Congress did appropriate funds for these programs for FY 1997.

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Necessary

News from the Black Community Crusade for Children

House Parties raise money, awareness, and action

On September 26, Black Americans nationwide hosted 270 House Parties, to celebrate and carry on the Black community's long-standing tradition of self-help.

The $250,000 in pledges raised on National House Party Day will support the work of the Black Community Crusade for Children (BCCC). "House Party Day is about Black folks taking responsibility for children, by opening their homes, schools, houses of worship, and community centers to friends and neighbors who want to improve the life chances of children," says Bill Lynch Jr., a member of the CDF board and the BCCC Working Committee.

Following are a few examples of the House Parties that were held around the country:

• In Kansas City, Mo., Dwayne Crompton, who runs an innovative child care center known as KCMC (Karing for Children is our Main Concern), held a House Party to celebrate his birthday on September 26. In lieu of gifts for him, he urged friends to donate to the BCCC.

• Jimmase Shalaby, a single mom in Trenton, N.J., invited several of her friends to a House Party at her apartment complex's clubhouse. She promoted the event by hanging posters throughout the community, and friends helped prepare food.

• A Richmond, Va., group known as Youth Nation 2001 put on a party highlighting Afrocentric themes, at the city's African Cultural Center. The party began with a drum concert and attracted Black college students. A local grocer donated food.

• In New York City, supermodel Iman and her husband, rock star David Bowie, hosted a dinner and auctioned off commemorative dinner plates that had been painted by individuals such as Rosa Parks, Muhammad Ali, Maya Angelou, Bill Cosby, Whoopi Goldberg, Eddie Murphy, Whitney Houston, Janet Jackson, Spike Lee, and Oprah Winfrey.

Supermodel Iman and husband, rock star David Bowie, pictured here with CDF president and BCCC leader Marian Wright Edelman, hosted a House Party.

Also in New York, BCCC Working Committee member Geoff Canada held a House Party at his home, and the Persaud Brothers, three humanitarians known for hosting charity functions, held a party for young professionals and leaders in the fashion and music industries.

• In Los Angeles, director Oz Scott and his wife, Lynne, opened their home and, along with television actress Victoria Rowell (who plays Drucilla Winters on "The Young and the Restless"), hosted a down-home, afternoon soul food feast with collard greens, macaroni and cheese, chicken, and peach cobbler. Guests were entertained by a children's gospel choir, a youth string quartet, and three teenage pianists. Actress Anna Maria Horsford joined actor Samuel L. Jackson and others on the host committee in raffling off traditional Black dolls. Reed Tuckson, president of the Charles Drew College of Medicine and a member of the BCCC Working Committee, addressed the guests.

• In West Hollywood, Calif., recording artist Tevin Campbell and producer Quincy Jones held a party that featured New Qwest/Jungle recording artists Red Foo and Dre Kroon.

• Pat Wesley, who runs a day care center in Dallas for children with special needs, decided to hold her House Party in October, to coincide with a statewide recognition day for special-needs children.

Some parties raised $10, while some raised tens of thousands of dollars. *Every* dollar raised will be matched dollar-for-dollar by a $5 million grant from the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, to support the work of the BCCC and endow the former Alex Haley farm. The farm is the Children's Defense Fund/BCCC center for spiritual renewal and character and leadership development.

For information on how you can conduct a House Party in your neighborhood or how you can get involved with the Black Community Crusade for Children's mission to Leave No Child Behind, call Wayne Marshall at 202-662-3676.

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Necessary

News from the Black Community Crusade for Children

Judges aim for fewer Black youths in jail

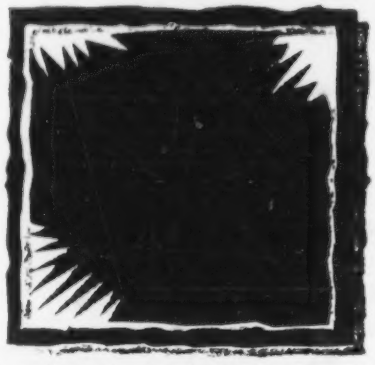
With one glance at the 17-year-old's case file, Judge Janice Brice Wellington knew that it wouldn't have taken much to keep him out of her courtroom. The young man first had appeared before Wellington in the Juvenile and Domestic Court in Manassas, Va., four years earlier, as a truant. His teachers couldn't control him and neither could his grandmother, who raised him after his father died.

At the time, there was no one to whom Wellington could release the youth, no one who would take responsibility for his supervision, or ensure that he went to school and to court-mandated counseling. Wellington says she had no choice but to order his detention.

Since then, the teen has bounced back and forth between juvenile facilities and public school. While incarcerated, he was a "model inmate," earning nearly a 3.0 grade-point average in his class work at the detention center. Once back in school, he would meet up with old friends and old habits, and wind up right back in court. "What that showed me was that he did very well with some structure and supervision," Wellington says. "He needed personal attention. In school he would get lost in the crowd and feel the urge to be the class clown."

He now faces a possible prison sentence for pointing and shooting a gun into a room with people in it.

"As a juvenile court judge, when a youth comes into my courtroom," explains Wellington, "I have to look at several factors in deciding whether or not I can release him. Is there someone at home to supervise the child, once I release him? Are there some rules in the household? Can someone see that the child gets to counseling?" These issues affect the racial balance of the children in the juvenile justice system, she says, because minority children are disproportionately poor, and poor children are less likely to have a parent or



guardian at home during the day. "On their face, the criteria may be neutral," Wellington says, "but several other dynamics lead to a disproportionate number of minorities in the system, and this is one of them."

Working together

Wellington is one of the nearly three dozen members of the Black Community Crusade for Children (BCCC) Family and Juvenile Court Judges Advisory Committee who met at the former Alex Haley farm in September to look for ways to address the overrepresentation of Black juveniles in the American justice system and make sure that the youths who do enter get fair treatment. This second annual Haley gathering served several purposes, says Wellington, and others who attended agree. "It brought us together as African American jurists, so that we could examine trends around the country, compare notes, and design solutions," Wellington says.

The judges agree that the single most effective way to keep Black youths out of jail is to give them one-to-one involvement with Black adults. This means not just parents, they say, but other adults who are willing to trade in their weekend recreation time to nurture youths.

But given that Black children are more likely than White children to be arrested, detained, and incarcerated, and on average are given longer sentences, Black adults tend to distrust the judicial system and hesitate to get involved with young people who are caught up in it, the jurists note.

The judges also say that since they are the ones who rule on the guilt, innocence, and ultimately the sentence of a youth, they should be involved in fashioning the guidelines they must follow. "As judges, we have not been involved in policy, and we're the ones who are real clear [on] where the system falls short," Wellington says. "Policy becomes real important, because it drives programming."

Next steps

At the September meeting, the judges agreed to visit at least five programs nationwide that are either helping steer youths away from jail or helping them get back into society as productive citizens once they've served time in juvenile facilities. The judges then will analyze why those programs are successful and report back to their colleagues around the country about how to replicate them.

Judge Arthur L. Burnett, an associate judge with the Superior Court of the District of Columbia, says that reversing the negative trend for Black youths will require sacrifice on behalf of Black adults, including jurists. "Just imagine what could be accomplished if more successful African Americans were willing to give up playing golf or tennis on Saturday mornings and use the time to take a youngster under their wing," Burnett says.

Wellington agrees. "If more Black adults would begin to realize the urgency," she says, "I could release young people like that 17-year-old, who would then have a better chance at a productive life."

For more information about the BCCC Family and Juvenile Court Judges Advisory Committee, contact Neil Stanley at 202-662-3505.

Money Talk

Holiday and year-end fund-raising strategies

When Claudette Sutton wanted to express her thanks to a friend who had done her a favor, she made a donation to CDF in the friend's name. "He thinks as highly of CDF as I do," says Sutton, the editor of a monthly parenting newspaper in Santa Fe, N.M., "and supporting a good cause seemed an appropriate way to say 'thank you.'"

With the holiday season now upon us, nonprofit organizations have a prime opportunity to meet or even exceed their annual fund-raising goals, by encouraging current donors—large and small—to contribute in honor of others. Such contributions make fine holiday gifts, especially for business associates, friends, and loved ones who present a shopping challenge.

Children, particularly those living in poverty and low-income working families, have critical needs all year round, but they require and deserve special attention during the holidays. Nonprofit groups should remind donors that a gift of any amount is appropriate and *will* make a difference in children's lives.

Donating to a nonprofit organization in a friend's or relative's name is often less costly than buying a gift; it also saves the donor valuable time—especially if *you* send a note of thanks to the person in whose name the gift is given. And it connects your group to a new potential supporter, while giving the recipient the satisfaction of doing a good turn for children. Daniel Yohalem, a Santa Fe attorney, longtime activist for social change, and the friend Sutton honored through her contribution, says, "I was delighted that CDF indirectly benefited from my work with Claudette."

After the holidays, follow up with the people who received holiday gifts from your donors by sending them annual reports or other information about your mission and about ways newcomers can get involved.

Stephanie Garber has made donations to CDF for years in honor of friends' new babies. But recently the Silver Spring, Md., sales representative decided she wanted to "give more generously." Garber's giving strategy is one that nonprofit organizations can ask donors to employ to boost year-end donations.

Garber asked her stockbroker to transfer to CDF certain stock certificates that had risen in value. This form of giving allowed Garber to make a large tax-deductible gift, and to pay no capital gains tax on the value gained by the stock while she owned it. Nonprofit organizations like CDF also get an extra benefit from such a gift, because they are not required to pay capital gains taxes on stock earnings.

The end of the year is an important time to look at individual donors, particularly donors who typically give medium- to large-sized gifts. Many individuals wait until the end of the year to assess their finances, see how their portfolios have performed, and gauge how much they are able to give. In addition, the holiday season naturally fosters the spirit of giving, and nonprofit organizations can tap into that added generosity. Donors should be encouraged to contribute not only cash gifts and stocks, but other properties that appreciate in value, such as real estate and art.

Sharpening your organization's fund-raising strategies for the holiday months and the end of the tax year is an effective way to ensure that your group meets or exceeds its annual development goals. And meeting your goals so that you can help children is a sure way to start the new year off right.

Of Note

Publications

Child Abuse Reporting: An Urban Profile, by Antoinette Coleman, examines how medical and nonmedical sources report child abuse in the inner city. It also explores the characteristics of the children and their families, and types of alleged abuse, severity, and perpetrators. $42. ISBN 0-8153-2194-5. Contact Garland Publishing, 717 Fifth Ave., Suite 2500, New York, NY 10022, 212-751-7447.

The Big Red How-To Guide: Planning a Health Fair for Children and Families is designed to help community leaders plan and present community health fairs. The guide includes checklists, reusable worksheets, and lessons from successful fairs. $15 plus $2 shipping and handling from the National Health & Education Consortium, c/o Inst. for Educational Leadership, 1001 Connecticut Ave. NW, Suite 310, Washington, DC 20036, 202-822-8405.

Combating Violence and Delinquency: The National Juvenile Justice Action Plan, from the Coordinating Council on Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, is a national plan of action to reduce juvenile violence and delinquency. No charge for the 200-page book (NCJ 157106) or the 36-page summary (NCJ 157105). Write to the Juvenile Justice Clearinghouse, Department F, PO Box 6000, Rockville, MD, 20849-6000; 800-638-8736; or e-mail askncjrs@aspensys.com.

The Corporate Welfare Guidebook, a publication by Tax Watch, has everything you need to join the debate on reforming corporate welfare. It includes facts about federal aid to corporations, arguments for and against corporate welfare, graphs, charts, quotes, and talking points. First copy is free; each additional copy is $10. Call 202-775-0595.

No Room for the Inn: A Report on Local Opposition to Housing and Social Services Facilities for Homeless People in 36 United States Cities examines recent relevant case law and reviews pending federal legislation that would bar service providers from receiving federal surplus or base-closure property, and would limit the application of the Fair Housing Act. $25 plus $3 postage and handling, from the National Law Center on Homelessness & Poverty. Call 202-638-2535.

Internet 101: Using it

Without the Internet, Michigan's first statewide Stand For Children Day on October 5 probably never would have happened, organizers say. They relied heavily on a Web site and e-mail to spread the word, and attracted about 8,000 people to the event. "We hardly spent a penny on mailings and postage because of the Internet," says organizer Wendy Shepherd, "and that was essential, given our small budget."

Stand For Children knows the Internet provides great ways for people to share ways to improve children's well-being, and wants to help child advocates take advantage of the technology. "We are becoming an online community for children," says Andrea Schorr, Stand For Children's online coordinator. "On the Internet, we can get together and share information about what really works."

Stand For Children has developed Internet guides for beginners and for intermediate-level users. They're free from Stand For Children (call 800-663-4032, write to 1834 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20009, or send an e-mail to TellStand@aol.com). Here are some basic questions and answers for beginners.

What is the Internet?

It's a huge network of computer networks using phone lines to transmit information. If you're sending e-mail, you're probably already using the Internet. The fastest-growing component of the Internet is the World Wide Web, through which more than 40 million users now obtain text, sound, photos and other graphics, and even video.

What do I need?

- A computer that can run Windows (a 386 or higher IBM-compatible, or a Macintosh LC or higher). If you're not sure what you've got, ask a computer-savvy friend or colleague to check out your system.
- A modem, which allows information to be transmitted to and from your computer through a phone line. The faster the modem speed, the quicker your computer will locate and load images posted on the Web. A 28,800 bps (bits per second) modem is recommended, but 14,400 bps is perfectly acceptable.
- A phone line for the modem. A modem can use the same line you use for home telephoning, but that means your phone line will be tied up while you're online. In the office, many telephone jacks won't match a modem connection. A modem could share a fax machine phone line instead, without tying up the telephone line.
- An Internet service provider (known in Internet jargon as an ISP). There are many choices available, from national mega-services such as America Online and Compuserve, to national nonprofit providers like HandsNet and Institute for Global Communications (IGC), to local options like Boston's TIAC and New York's ECHO, to phone companies like MCI and AT&T. Some areas also have access to freenets—public networks run by nonprofits providing free e-mail and limited Internet services.
- Software. A dialer program and browser software allow you to get into and navigate the World Wide Web. They are must-haves. Many ISPs provide a browser as part of their service.

How can I check it out?

Don't buy anything until you know what you need. First, ask around to see what friends and colleagues recommend. Or, find a place where you can get online for free or at a minimal, one-time cost, to make sure greater investment makes sense for you. For example, your child's classroom may be connected to the Internet. You also should check the local library or university library, youth and family recreation centers such as the YWCA/YMCA or Boys and Girls Clubs, and "cybercafes"—coffeehouses that offer Internet access at per-hour fees and sometimes free to patrons buying food or drinks.

What does the Internet have?

Almost anything. Information about grant opportunities, legislative updates, tons of data, curricula and other educational resources, parenting information and homework help for your child, the daily newspaper—you name it. (But remember: no one owns or controls the Internet; information posted is only as credible as the organization posting it.) Also available are e-mail connections and "chat rooms" for direct contact with people who share your interests. Happy surfing!

Sites for advocates

Here are some Web sites worth exploring:

Children's Defense Fund—http://www.childrensdefense.org
Stand For Children—http://www.stand.org
National Child Care Information Center—http://ericps.ed.uiuc.edu/nccic/
National Parent Information Network—
http://ericps.ed.uiuc.edu/npin/npinhome.html
WebActive's Listing of Children's Sites—
http://www.webactive.com/webactive/cgi-bin/wniadirsearch?
Children ZIA Child Advocacy Resources—
http://204.30.30.10/life/children/childadvocacy/
National Youth Center Network—http://www.nycn.org/nycn-info/nycn/
Families USA—http://epn.org/families.html
Coalition for America's Children —
http://www.cdinet.com/Benton/Home/Children.html

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